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THE ANNALS

OF THE

American Academy of Political and Social Science

ISSUED BI-MONTHLY

VOL. XXVII, No. 2 MARCH, 1906

17035

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PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

1906

17035

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FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot 22, Paris.
GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.
ITALY: Direcione del Giornale degli Economisti, via Monte Savello, Palazzo Orsini, Rome.
SPAIN: E. Capdeville, 9 Plaza de Santo Ana, Madrid.

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CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTHERN COTTON MILLS

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By A. J. McKelway, D.D.,
Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

One day last week the train from Memphis, Tennessee, to Spartanburg, South Carolina, through the far famed Land of the Sky, carried a company of fifty people bound for the South Carolina cotton mills. Among those on board who expressed themselves on the subject of these emigrants from Tennessee, were the agent in charge of the emigrants, the conductor of the train, a business man from West Tennessee, a missionary school teacher, a minister of the gospel; while a secretary of the Child Labor Committee took notes of what was said and reserved expression of opinion until now. It might be said that the business and professional life of the South was fairly well represented.

The minister happened to be a valued member of our North Carolina Child Labor Committee, and, of course, deplored the breaking up of these mountain homes, be they ever so humble, and recognized that the Church had little chance to influence the child when the mill had once claimed him. The school teacher, who had given her life with self-sacrificing zeal to educating the children of the mountaineers, felt that the child was equally beyond the reach of the school when the mill had made the demand for his labor. She was intimately acquainted with the life of the people, knew the bitterness of their poverty in some instances, but she felt that it was nothing short of a calamity for the children to be removed from their mountain farms to the cotton mills. The business man declaimed in two languages, English and the profane, against the scarcity of labor on the farms of West Tennessee on account of this steady draining of the tenant population from the farms to the mills, and he felt the unfair competition that came from the employment of children at man's work and woman's work in the mill, of course the business of the towns suffering from the

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non-productivity of the farms, through the scarcity of labor. But the conductor of the train was the most vehement in his denunciation of the mills themselves for the employment of children. He had seen these people leaving their native hills in the full tide of vigorous manhood and womanhood, with rosy-cheeked children. And he had seen some of them return, broken in health and spirits, the fair pictures that had been painted for them by the agent blotted out in the tears of disappointment. If he had thought of the economic view of the question as concerning his own occupation, he would have known that the children who went into the cotton mills in tender years would never be fit in manhood for work on the railroad, with its demand for intelligent and alert workmen. But the point is that the people of the South are talking about this evil of child labor in the cotton mills, and that public sentiment is turning against the industry itself, with indiscriminate condemnation for the permission of such a system.

The agent of the cotton mills was the only one who regarded his work of inducing these people to leave their homes as a benefaction and himself as the advance agent of civilization. He said that he had found the worst conditions on the Pigeon River, in East Tennessee, among the Great Smoky Mountains. He had found fifteen living in one hut, who were glad enough to leave it for the mills; that there was no work for the women and children to do except in corn-planting or potato-digging time, while all could work in the mill, wet weather or dry, hot or cold; that he had thirty-two people on board for whom he had to pay half or full fare, besides the children; that he had made seven "shipments" from Newport, Tenn., averaging fifteen to the shipment; that seven more shipments had gone from Cleveland; that he must have shipped five hundred emigrants in all; that he represented an immigration association which had other agents out beside himself, and here he showed me one of the contracts to be signed by the emigrant, representing the cotton mill community as a sort of earthly paradise, with its free schools, free libraries, amusement halls and secret order rooms, indicating that the twelve-hour day of the cotton mills left considerable time for leisure and culture; that the family was a great deal better off in the mill, where the whole family could make $3.75 a day, than on the farm, where the father had been able to make but seventy-five cents a day; that the law did not

allow a child under twelve to work unless it was a "widder lady's" child, who is worked as young as he is able to work—presumably as the penalty for partial orphanage; that the parent was supposed to know how old his child was, and his word was taken as to the child's age, though, of course, there were a-plenty of children of six and eight and ten years in the mills, because their parents lied about their ages.

And then we undertook a little personal investigation of the children themselves. Little Harrison Swan was "going on ten" and was going to work in the Four Mills, at Greenville, S. C., and I doubt not is at work there now. Charley Matthews and a little comrade of about his size were each "about nine," and both were bound for the mills. And it made one's heart bleed to see the number of children younger still, and the babies at the breast, soon to be cast into the brazen arms of our modern Moloch. For, as our chairman said in an address last year, these people are of the purest American stock on this continent. North Carolina has a law requiring a cotton mill agent to take out a license that costs him a hundred dollars. And yet, from the little village of Clyde, on the Western North Carolina Railway, there went last year to the South Carolina cotton mills fifteen hundred men, women and children of this pure Anglo-Saxon stock, whose fathers fought at King's Mountain and New Orleans against the British, who fought on both sides in the Civil War, for the right as it was given each to see the right; who were the first to volunteer in the war with Spain, but to whom the nation will turn in the hour of her need in vain, as England looked to Manchester and Leeds and Sheffield in vain for men to conquer a handful of South African farmers, when the strength and vigor of her soldiers had been sapped by premature and long continued labor in the mills.

So it is that Tennessee, which has but thirty cotton mills of her own, is affected by the cotton mill industry of South Carolina, which stands next to Massachusetts in the number of spindles. The problem of child labor is one that affects the South as a whole and touches it at a point which it has hitherto most jealously guarded, the preservation of the vigor of its Anglo-Saxon stock. Nay, we make bold to say that child labor in the South is more a national question than child labor in New England or Pennsylvania. For in the North and East it is chiefly the children of the foreigners

that need protection. No child of American stock has been found in the sweatshops of New York City. But in the South, it is the breed of American that is threatened with degeneration.

To those unacquainted with actual conditions, the subject assigned me might be supposed to have an unjustly discriminating title. Why consider the cotton mills as the only industry cursed with child labor? It is true that there are several hundred thousand children of the South reported in the census as engaged in "gainful occupations." But the large majority of these are at work on the farms, under the eye of their parents, and would not be counted ordinarily except for the peculiarities of the tenant system in the South. This work is not only harmless, but helpful, save where it interferes with attendance at school. It is true also that there are some very young children employed in the tobacco factories of Virginia and North Carolina, in the cigar factories of Florida, in the woolen mills of Kentucky and Tennessee, in the coal mines of West Virginia and Alabama. But the evil here is slight in comparison with the child slavery of the cotton mills. Nor is this characteristic of the cotton mills peculiar to the South. The first recorded protest against this curse was the opinion of the medical men of Manchester, England, written by Dr. Thomas Percival, upon the occasion of a fever epidemic. They said: "We are decided in our opinion that the disorder has been supported, diffused and aggravated by the injury done to young persons through confinement and too long continued labor, to which evil the cotton mills have given occasion." That was in 1784. In the year 1796 the Manchester Board of Health, organized by Dr. Percival, says that they "have had their attention particularly directed to the large cotton factories established in the town and neighborhood of Manchester * * * that the children and others who work in large cotton factories are peculiarly disposed to be affected by the contagion of fever, and that when such infection is received it is rapidly propagated. * * * The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labor of the day, with respect to children, not only tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industr by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the sing generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idlene extravagance and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to th der of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring."

In 1802 began the hundred year war in England, with the first of the factory acts, for the protection of the children, and England is just waking to the fact that protective and effective legislation came too late. That which the Manchester physicians of the eighteenth century had foretold was evident to all the world at the beginning of the twentieth century. Says one of the important magazine articles of the year: "In a day it seemed that the nation awoke to the fact that its physical vigor was sapped. It had no material for soldiers. The percentage of rejections at the enlistment stations appalled every reflective mind. The standards were lowered, the tests were conveniently made easy. Regiments were patched together of boys and anemic youths. They were food for the hospitals, not for powder. Once in South Africa, enteric swept them off like flies. They were only the shells of men. * * * Men gathered from the dispatches that, as a matter of fact, the war was fought on the British side by the Colonials, Irish and Scotch." And now hear the testimony from Manchester after a hundred years: "The president of a Manchester improvement association testified that there were large districts in Manchester in which there were "no well grown children or men or women, except those who have been born in the country.[1]" Every one knows the importance of Manchester as a cotton manufacturing center. Lord Shaftesbury claimed that the evil "spread from the cotton mills" into other industries.

When New England took up the manufacture of cotton on a large scale the same conditions, perhaps not quite so bad, were observed. As late as 1885 in Massachusetts, children as young as ten years of age were allowed to work eight hours a day in the cotton mills. And we have the reason set forth by President Roosevelt why the New England regiments, recruited from the factory districts, were unable to meet the rural regiments from the South in battle. It is a self-evident truth that men who fail in the test of battle are not able to win the more enduring victories of peace. To-day the American workman is hardly to be found in the cotton mills of New England. The wages are below the American standard, and the mills are filled with French Canadians, Greeks and Portuguese. For it is a sort of retributory law of economics

1 John Dennie, Jr., *Everybody's Magazine*, March, 1905. Article, "Hooligan."

that when the parent puts his child to work in competition with himself, the wage scale falls to the child standard, and the whole family can make only so much as the father of the family can in those occupations where there is no demand for the labor of children.

Before the invention of the cotton gin had turned the South from its manufacturing industry to the raising of cotton for the world's supply, with the consequent growth of African slavery from a patriarchal to a commercial institution, the South was producing a larger quantity and a greater variety of manufactured goods than New England. In 1900 the value of her manufactured products again surpassed that of her agricultural. In the two decades from 1880 to 1900 there was an enormous expansion of the cotton milling industry, in response to the almost passionate demand at the South for her restoration to the position of a manufacturing people. Edward Everett Hale has satirized the average Southern village as a place where no one was competent to mend a broken pail. Henry Grady drew a picture of the equipment of a funeral which he attended in Georgia, the coffin manufactured here and the hearse yonder, the dead man's clothes woven in Philadelphia and his shoes coming from Massachusetts, ending with the classic remark that all which Georgia could furnish for the funeral was the "corpse and the hole in the ground." But the cotton exposition at Atlanta in 1886 gave a tremendous impetus to cotton manufacturing, as well as to the diversification of our industries. The climax of enthusiasm at that exposition was reached when the Governor of Georgia appeared one evening arrayed in a suit of clothes whose manufacture had been followed with interest by the spectators, who had seen the cotton for the clothes picked from the stalks in the field on the morning of that day. In 1880 there were 667,000 spindles in the South. In 1900 there were over seven millions. Now there are 9,205,000. And the industry is still going forward by leaps and bounds. In 1904 there were twice as many cotton manufacturing establishments of all kinds as in 1900. In six years the number of spindles in the two Carolinas has doubled. In 1905 it was found that the South had actually manufactured one thousand more bales of cotton during the year than the North and East. North Carolina stands first of the states in the number of mills, though South Carolina is first among Southern states in the

number of spindles. Old factories are being enlarged and new ones built, and the very latest principles of construction are used and the newest models of machinery.

This industry is centered in the four cotton producing states of the South, Alabama, Georgia and the two Carolinas. These mills are mainly located in the Piedmont section of these four states. Alabama has sixty-five cotton manufacturing establishments of all kinds, Georgia 169, South Carolina 163 and North Carolina 315. But these figures from the last Blue Book are probably already antiquated. The South still sends to foreign countries 65 per cent. of the cotton she produces. But it is now manufacturing into yarn and cloth a little more than half of the remaining 35 per cent. It would seem only a question of time when the cotton mill in the cotton field, other conditions being equal, must successfully compete with the cotton mill in Philadelphia or New England, the two other cotton manufacturing centers of the United States, and with the cotton mills of Old England as well. It is estimated that within sixty milles of Charlotte, N. C., there is enough water power to drive two-thirds of the spindles of England; that is, a million horse-power. In Alabama it is possible from a cotton factory to fire a rifle bullet into a coal mine and then throw a stone into a cotton field. The New England companies that own mills in both New England and the South find their dividends twice or thrice as great from their Southern mills. And it may be added here that they are conspicuous opponents of any legislation in the South that would diminish the labor of children, and that their representatives throng the halls of legislation for the repeal of such inadequate laws as we have and for the blocking of all humane legislation.

It is difficult for any one not reared in the South to understand the interest and pride that this expansion of the cotton mill industry has caused among us. The farmer has attributed to this increase of spindles and to the local demand for spot cotton the advance in the price of the staple that is at the foundation of Southern prosperity. The railroads are dependent in large measure for the increase in tonnage upon the output of the cotton mills, and there has been in several states a hard and fast alliance between the railroads and the cotton mills in opposition to any legislation directed against child labor. It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention the obvious fact that successful competition with New England in its

chosen field of manufacture has added some zest and spice to the building up of this industry and to the favor with which the people have hitherto regarded it.

There are now employed in Southern cotton mills, according to the "Blue Book" of 1904-5, which is already a year old, 238,881 operatives. Counting the new mills that have gone into operation since, there must be a quarter of a million people thus employed. Of these, a former president of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association estimates that only 30 per cent. are adults, though by adults he means those over twenty-one. The president of the American Cotton Manufacturing Association, Mr. R. M. Miller, of Charlotte, N. C., in an interview deprecating the raising of the age limit in North Carolina from twelve to fourteen for girls and for illiterate boys, claimed that 75 per cent. of the spinners of North Carolina were fourteen or under. The average for children under sixteen employed in Southern mills, as given by the census of 1900, was 25 per cent. On that basis there must be 60,000 children, from six to sixteen, now working in the mills of the Southern States, and my own opinion is that there are 60,000 under fourteen years of age. And just now the mills are running night and day, and even the rule of sixty-six hours a week makes the working day for these little ones for five days of the week twelve hours.

But while there are natural advantages for the manufacture of cotton near the fields where it is produced, it is a fact easily proved that the child labor system of the South is an advantage to Northern mills. The employment of children is an economic error in that it tends to lower the standard of efficiency in industry and to use up the labor supply in exactly the same way that the putting of colts to the plough would do in agricultural communities. In the Georgia Legislature last summer a noted cotton manufacturer, a member of the Georgia Senate, in an eloquent plea against the child labor system, challenged his associates in that business who were also members of the Senate, to disprove his statement: that the same quality of cotton goods manufactured in the South was sold at a price from two to four cents a pound lower than these goods manufactured in the North. The New England mills that are prospering the most have thrown their old machinery upon the scrap pile and have ceased competition with the South by manufacturing the finer goods, in which there is the greater margin of

profit. Mills for the manufacture of these finer goods are now being erected in the South, but the demand goes up from them for a better class of labor, and it is another economic truth that the child laborer does not ordinarily develop into a skilled laborer. A Georgia cotton mill imported skilled laborers for the manufacture of fine goods. The goods were sold at Philadelphia and New England prices. Once some tags containing the name and location of this mill were slipped into the bales of finished cloth by the workmen. The mill management immediately received a letter from the commission merchant urging that this should never be done again; that he had concealed the fact that this particular mill was located in the South, and thereby had been able to get Northern prices for the goods. What a short-sighted policy it is, for the profit of the moment, to be wasting the opportunity for building up at the South an industry that shall be distinguished from the same industry in both New England and Old England, by being free at once from the long hours and the low wages and the infant labor that have been the curse of the cotton mill for a hundred years, and are chiefly now the curse of the Southern cotton mills.

And, as was shown in the introduction to this address, the people of the South are beginning to feel that the present methods of this industry are exacting too great a price for its prosperity. Physicians, individually and in their state conventions, are following the example of their predecessors in Manchester a century ago, and are protesting against the depreciation of the human stock by this cruel system; against the very presence in a cotton mill, with its flying lint, of young children with their more delicate lungs; are pointing out the frequent cases of throat and lung diseases they are treating in their hospitals among their little patients from the mills; and especially are protesting against the physical injury to young girls, at the critical period of their lives, and the necessary injury to the future race that is involved. The farmer is beginning to protest against the unfair competition between the mill and the farm in the labor market, the tenant being persuaded to leave the farm for the factory by the inducement that he can put his young children to work at profitable wages, reversing both the law of nature and the law of Scripture, that the parent should lay up for the child and not the child for the parent. The educational leaders are making bitter protest against the increase of illiteracy in the factory

districts, and we do not need any increase of illiteracy in the South. The Southern pulpit, with united voice, is crying aloud and sparing not, inveighing against man's inhumanity to children. The politician is beginning to feel this wave of public indignation against the evil. The Southern press, religious and secular, great dailies and country weeklies, with the exception of the mercenary few, are pointing out the inevitable tendency of child labor in the mills, the fact that the very supremacy of the white race is involved, since the negro is not employed in the cotton mills and his children are freed from that slavery. Southern patriots everywhere are proclaiming that the child should be put above the dividend, that the place for the child is not the mill, but the school. Even the stockholders of the mills are beginning to feel that their profits are of the nature of blood-money and are too dearly won at the price of the lives and the health of the little children. And there are many humane mill owners who, despite the feeling that they should stand together against restrictive legislation, in spite of the false fear that the child labor opponents are labor agitators, are unwilling to play the rôle of the infamous Herods who "sought the young child's life." In the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama, where a twelve-year limit has been established by law, many are trying honestly to observe that law, even with no provision for law enforcement and no system of factory inspection or even of birth registration; and I am persuaded that in Georgia, unique among the manufacturing States of Europe or America in having no child labor law, many manufacturers, because they are honorable men, resent the reproach that has been brought upon them as a class by the wholesale violation of their own agreement not to employ young children, which is a matter of common knowledge. One of them proclaimed in the Georgia Legislature that the reason he had refused to join the Georgia Industrial Association was that he was unwilling to contribute, as a member of the association, to a legislative fund for preventing a child labor law. In spite of the ineffectiveness of present laws and the violation of solemn agreements and the utter absence of protective legislation in some of the states, I make bold to say, because I know my people and love my people, that the South is too kind-hearted to allow this sacrifice of the children. They know that "to be a man too soon is to be a small man." They believe, with John Ruskin, that "it is a shame for a nation to make

its young girls weary." And it is a Southern state, Louisiana, that is unique in making a difference of two years in the age limit for employment between the boys and girls, and in favor of the girls.

The child is the saviour of the race. What we do for the child, for his protection, for his education, for his training for the duties of manhood, for securing the rights and prolonging the period of childhood, is the measure of what we shall accomplish for the race that is to be. The ancient Hebrew prophet drew a picture of the golden age of the world, that with the Hebrew and the Christian is still in the future, a picture that has never been surpassed in literature. And the central figure on the canvas is that of the little child. The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp. And when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the lion shall eat straw like the ox, the cow and the bear shall feed—a little child shall lead them. And so it must be with this civilization of ours, if it is to endure.

Forces of leonine violence, forces of serpentine cunning, forces of wolfish greed, as well as the forces of peaceful industry and domestic labor, must consent to be led in peaceful procession, while walking before them, drawing their might with his innocence, and his helplessness and his promise, is the figure of the little child. God speed the day! God hasten the coming of the age when the child shall not be driven but shall lead, when the child shall not be the prey of the giant forces that are now contending for the mastery, but shall quell and tame their violence and inaugurate the reign of universal brotherhood.

CHILD LABOR AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

By Hon. Charles P. Neill, Ph.D.,
Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Ever since I was requested by the National Child Labor Committee to discuss the topic: Child Labor at the National Capital, I have been condoled with by numerous friends. There seems to be a feeling everywhere in Washington that we have no child labor here, and that to be asked to discuss such a topic is like being asked to write a chapter on snakes in Ireland. But Washington from time to time awakens to the fact that it has an imperfection or two which it had previously overlooked. We have in some respects a model city, and are proud—warrantably proud, I believe—of the reputation of being probably the best governed city in the United States. In all that makes for material beauty and honest administration there is room for little but praise of the nation's capital. But there are phases of our city life, phases of what we might call its sociological or its moral side in which we are remarkable chiefly for the absence of any preventive legislation and remarkable, I might say, for our complete ignorance of the sores that disfigure what is otherwise an unusually clean and healthful civic society. When some years ago an awakening and a developing of social conscience in our large centers of population led to the study of those festering spots we call slums and to efforts for their eradication, Washington looked on with interest, with approving interest, wished the work God speed—and complacently thanked the Lord that it was not as other cities. It came to many of us, therefore, with a peculiar shock when some of those who had led the movement against the slums of London and New York came to Washington, and turning aside from the broad avenues and park-bedotted sections of the city, went nosing into crooked alleys and dirty by-ways, and then

emerged to tell us that scattered here and there through the city were plague spots in which the living conditions of human beings were as deplorable and as fearful as almost anything that could be found in the worst parts of New York or London. The differences were in degree and not in kind. We had not as much of it as those larger centers of population, but what we had was as bad—and what is more, with us there is far less excuse for the existence of such conditions.

I believe that the case is pretty nearly parallel in the matter of child labor. Here, too, we fancy we are innocent of all guilt. But our complacency on this score is due largely to a disordered mental perspective. The pallid, overworked, stunted child of the mill, the factory, or the mine has been held up so often as an example of the evil of child labor that anything short of this pitiful, this shocking little human figure fails to draw our particular attention. We have here no yawning mills, or factories, or mines, in and out of which emerges a daily procession of those little victims to whose rescue this National Committee has dedicated its unremitting efforts.

Washington is pre-eminently a residence and not an industrial center, and the opportunity to make use of child labor is consequently limited, but in so far as there have been openings we have let pass no chance for sinning against our children. We have risen, or perhaps I had better say, we have stooped to the complete measure of our opportunity. We cannot vie with the States or cities that number their working children by the tens of thousands, but in the restricted area of Washington, with its comparatively small population, we have them by the dozens and by the hundreds, and what is more, we have here forms of child labor that are—or ought to be—shocking beyond expression to any right-thinking man or woman,—and these we have tolerated without having written one word of protest in our laws. So far as I have been informed, we have no law or regulation of any kind in the nation's capital imposing restrictions of any sort upon the employment of children.

It would at any time be a matter of some difficulty to secure complete data concerning the employment of children here. I would have been glad to present here the results of a comprehensive investigation into child labor in the District of Columbia, but when the matter was brought to my attention the meeting

of this committee at Washington had been well advertised, and it would have been extremely difficult, in the absence of any law on the subject, and the consequent absence of records, to have made successfully a complete investigation of this topic. The very coming of the committee had directed attention to the subject, with the natural result that inquiries would have been everywhere met with suspicion, and the facts could not easily have been drawn out. But the briefest and most casual investigation of the subject has brought to light enough to make Washington heartily ashamed of itself, and to demand that the moral sense of the community shall express itself and be written into law.

The census of 1900 shows over 2000 children under 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the District of Columbia. The percentage of children under 15 at work in 1900 was nearly double the percentage at work in 1880. And judging by the hasty survey we have made during the last few weeks there is every reason to believe that the evil is still rapidly spreading.

The only effort that has been made to cope with the evil is a weak one, and represents the application of the poultice rather than of the knife. We have realized the injury done the child and the injury done to the community by allowing educational opportunities to be withdrawn from children at too early an age, but we have not taken a determined stand and prohibited child labor and demanded that the child should be sent regularly to school. We have merely temporized with the evil by starting night schools for those unfortunate little fellows who are compelled to work during the study and the play hours of normal child life. At the opening of the night schools this year 655 children 15 years and under had enrolled themselves for study. All of these are children who labor during the hours of daylight, and the extent of the relief we offer them is to permit them to devote to study whatever of energy and strength may be left after a day's work is ended. It may be—I do not know—but it may be that the records of the children in the night schools in many cases compare favorably with the records of the children in the day school; but I do not believe that anyone would call for figures to justify the statement that any child who is working six, eight, or ten hours a day is fit to devote several hours more in the evening to mental work. By dint of pluck and

energy such a child may succeed well in his study for a while, but in the long run, in the great majority of cases, the result cannot fail to be harmful, both mentally and physically.

We have found cases in the past few weeks of children twelve years old attending night school after working from 7.30 in the morning to 5.30 in the evening. And this was work in laundries and in small factories in which this entire period was devoted, except for the lunch hour, to continuous work.

Is it surprising then when the principal of a night school tells us that night after night before the school session is half over little fellows ask to be excused on the ground that they are too tired to remain longer awake. Nor is it any wonder either that these little fellows whom we permit to work nine or ten hours and to whom we then—in our generosity—offer school facilities, if they will do what is equivalent to adding two or three more hours to their day's work—is it any wonder, I say, that they finally spurn this generous treatment and cease to avail themselves of all that we are offering them.

The records of the present year show very clearly that the children do not avail themselves very long of the opportunities offered by the night school. Of the 655 children now attending these schools practically eighty per cent. have only been out of the day school one year or less. In other words, of the entire attendance less than one-fifth have been attending these schools for two years or over. These figures show conclusively that the children do not continue at night school after they have begun to work, and that practically the begining of their working life is the ending of their school life.

I said that we had found 12-year-old boys in this district working from 7.30 in the morning until 6 in the evening, but cases have also been found of 12-year-old boys who have worked from 7.30 in the morning till 5.30 in the evening and have returned in the night to work from 7.30 till 10, making a thirteen-hour day for a 12-year-old-child. I do not know how many of these cases there are, for, as I have said, our investigation was a very limited and superficial one. But even if the number should not prove large, we have no occasion to take credit to ourselves for the fact. A community which will permit a single case of this kind to exist, a community that has not written one line into its law to prevent

the existence and the growth of such conditons, has little right to point the finger of shame at those other communities where mills destroy the children by the thousands. The difference in their respective sinning is only in degree.

Right now there are small factories in the District where 12 and 13-year-old boys are working from 7.30 o'clock in the morning till 5 in the evening, nine hours a day, and then returning to work again from 6 until 9 o'clock at night.

Dwarfed and stunted children are sad enough spectacles, but a moral wreck is sadder, infinitely sadder, than any type of physical deformity. There are in the District of Columbia half a dozen forms of child labor which necessarily and inevitably will turn out each year a goodly proportion of moral wrecks.

Hardly any one would argue that the lobby of a hotel with the ribald jest and the obscene yarn which pass current there when men of a certain type are passing the early or the later hours of the evening is any fit place for a young boy, but the hotels of this city employ children twelve, thirteen and fourteen years of age in occupations which from the viewpoint of moral insurance can only be classed as extra hazardous.

At 11 o'clock at night I have seen a twelve-year-old boy, employed around the lobby of a hotel, sitting just behind a pair of red-faced men, drinking in eagerly the dirty stories which they were exchanging with one another. The opportunity doubtless presents itself night after night, and the little boy doubtless too avails himself of it. Again, the little page boys of the hotel who go through the various parts of the hotel calling telephone messages and telegrams are sent night after night into rathskellers and cafes in which men and women of at least questionable reputation are giving object lessons of a sort which every intelligent parent would spend every effort to hide from thirteen-year-old children. In the various theaters, too, will be found little boys dressed up as pages who carry water around to the patrons of the theater. I think we would all agree that a theater, even of the best type, is hardly the place for the budding nature of a boy to develop into fullness.

In looking up instances of child labor here, I visited what I thought was probably the worst theater in the city. It is not so bad perhaps as the kind some other cities might boast of, but it is fair to describe it as the kind of a place where the lecherous and

the sodden seek their evening's entertainment. The candy seller here was a boy who might have been fourteen. I found him eagerly taking in the performance, and somewhat shocked at the thought that a boy of his age should spend night after night in such surroundings, I made inquiry of an attendant who knew him as to the boy's family circumstances. His father was living—but was in the penitentiary. Criminologists may differ as to the relative importance of heredity and environment in shaping the lives of men; but here was a case of a child cursed with whatever burden heredity might have, and whom the community had also allowed to seek an environment that would co-operate with hereditary traits to work for his moral destruction. It does not require the gift of prophecy to suggest that at a later day this community will complete its outrage on that child by sending him successively to the reform school and later to the penitentiary.

I think it is generally admitted by all those who have given any study to the question of child labor that what we term the street trades are particularly dangerous to the morals of children, and in these trades the Capital City can furnish some excellent examples of what ought not to be tolerated.

Although the street trades in Washington engage only one-fourth of the total number of children engaged in all occupations, yet of the number of children under fifteen who have gone to the reform school, or who have been turned over by the courts to the care of probation officers, over two-thirds have come from the ranks of the children engaged in the street trades. These figures are not surprising to any one who has made the least study of child labor, for it is found true everywhere that the street trades serve as a preparatory school for crime.

At nearly every corner of the busy part of the city there are literally dozens of boys of all ages selling the morning and the evening papers. There are frequently anywhere from six to ten doing the work that a single one could properly do. Their work lacks all the disciplinary value that comes from a steady employment and fixed earnings. Success does not come to a boy from strict attention to business and from the possession of the characteristics of reliability and steadiness. It comes from the skill with which he can outwit his rival and the quickness with which he turns a penny—honestly or dishonestly.

Anyone who will notice carefully the boys from whom he buys his papers from day to day will observe how often the boy is without change for the five cents we offer him for his paper. Unwilling to wait, we tell him to keep the change. If there ever was a mistaken charity, this is one, for the boy learns quickly that more money is to be made in illegitimate than in legitimate ways. Had he made the change his profit on the sale of his paper would have been half a penny; his failure to have the change has given him four cents extra. Speaking in the language of trade, his profit increased 800 per cent. Before long the little boy intentionally delays making the change and goes through various skilful devices to try your patience—or to give you plenty of time in which to let your generosity develop to the point of letting him keep the change. If the street car is going by, and you show an inclination to make that car, the boy sees his chance and delays his change. This of course is not true of every boy, for there are many little fellows who will follow you to the car and run along beside it to give you the last penny; but the temptation is there, and dozens and dozens of the little fellows fall before it. Again, no one can walk the streets of this city after dark without meeting little boys, sometimes as young as seven and eight years of age, who come up and beg you, "Please, mister, buy my last paper; it is only a penny!" I have seen boys repeat this several times in succession, drawing a fresh paper out from under their jacket as soon as the purchaser of the last one had disappeared. At the junction of two of our principal streets, almost any night at 8, 9 and even 10 o'clock, a little boy who says he is only six years old can be found begging you to buy his "last paper."

Unless the child is cast in the mold of heroic virtue, the newsboy trade is a training in either knavery or mendicancy. Nowhere else are the wits so sharpened to look for the unfair advantage, nowhere else is the unfortunate lesson so early learned that dishonesty and trickery are more profitable than honesty, and that sympathy coins more pennies than does industry.

But bad as the newsboy's training is, demoralizing as it is, there is another service in the District which surpasses even this in its opportunities for moral injury. The newsboys' service is demoralizing, but the messenger service is debauching.

There are messenger boys here of ten and eleven years old,

and these little fellows may be seen at all hours of the day and night in all kinds of weather, working manfully at their tasks. Their hours of work run on an average from seven to nine hours a day. Some of the boys start at 7 o'clock in the morning and work until 4 in the afternoon. Others come on at 8 or 9 and work correspondingly later hours in the afternoon. Other boys begin as late as 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon and work until midnight. Others begin at midnight and work until 8 in the morning. The dangers of this service are hard to overestimate. Boys are sent at all hours of the day and night indiscriminately into all sorts of places, and after the boy has added to his own experiences the experiences he secures through the exchange of confidences with his little fellow-workers his education has proceeded very far in those lines in which we strive the hardest to limit knowledge amongst children.

Washington, like every other city, has a section which is without the law; it is fenced off, as it were, and into it is crowded all that is pathetic, all that is tragic, all that is foul in the life of woman. The name of this section of our cities is not referred to, nor its character discussed before any general audience. It can truly be described as a place which is unspeakable, yet in that district in Washington practically every disreputable house has its call box, and any creature, however foul, has but to press a button and a moment later a boy is sent from a messenger office to place himself at her service for any errand of sin that she may wish. No discrimination seems to be exercised even as to the age of the children that are sent to answer these calls. By the common testimony of nearly every police officer in that precinct boys as young as ten and eleven years can be seen answering calls to these houses day after day and night after night. And, saddest of all, this service appeals strongly to the children. The prurient curiosity of the developing boy would itself incline him to like these calls, but they quickly learn also that women who live in these sections are more generous with their earnings in the way of tips than are the people in the more respectable sections of the city. Frequently two or three little boys will be seen trailing after one another in answer to a single call—each hoping that the generosity of the woman will extend beyond the boy who carries her message to his companions who wear the uniform. One little boy who was ques-

tioned in this investigation had been very fortunate on that particular day. He had had several calls in that section and had made $1.50 in tips. He did not realize, and perhaps the "widowed mother" to whose support he was contributing did not realize, the real source of his earnings. This money did not represent legitimate salary paid him for honest services rendered, but it represented such a division of the earnings of shame as an abandoned woman chose of her own free will to bestow upon the child.

It is bad enough to send boys of any age into such a service as I am describing, but it is unspeakably shocking to find that no discrimination whatever seems to be exercised in regard to the ages of the children who are sent to houses of prostitution in answer to calls. It may be a ten-year-old boy or it may be a seventeen-year-old boy—chance alone seems to determine.

It can be said that all the boys who go into the messenger service do not go to the bad, but it can be said with equal truth that it ruins children by the dozens, and that if any boy does come out of this service without having suffered moral shipwreck he can thank the mercy of God for it, and not the protecting arm of the community that stands idly by and makes no attempt to save him from temptation.

In conclusion I would like to suggest a reflection or two for this or any other body of men and women that considers the question of child labor. Let us ask ourselves, Whose is the responsibility? For whom do these children work? Let us cast off for a moment the scandalous aspects of the messenger service which I have just been discussing and consider only forms of labor in legitimate lines. The truth is these child victims are working for us. They are working for me, and they are working for you. We enjoy cheaper products because the rights of children are outraged in order to furnish cheap labor. We cannot turn around and lay the blame entirely on the greed of the employer. Wherever shameful conditions of child labor exist it is due just as much to a lack of conscience in the community at large as it is to any greed on the part of particular employers.

After all has been said, and the case weighed, no valid excuse can be allowed for child labor. The arguments in favor of it reduce themselves to two. The first is that the child's family needs his earnings. But even this is not true in the majority of cases.

Investigations everywhere confirm the fact that in the larger number of instances of child labor the families could have gotten on without it; and even if misfortune and want have reached the point which seemed to demand the labor of the little children of a family, it is mistaken policy to permit this method of relief. The community that has no other form of relief to offer the widow deprived of her natural bread-winner than to snatch her children from her and place upon their shoulders burdens that belong to men is a community that is not very far advanced in either Christian charity or economic intelligence.

A broader ground is sometimes taken, and it is urged that certain forms of industry cannot be carried on without child labor. Now, if there is any one proposition in economics that all are agreed upon it is that any individual or any community will pay for any service or for any commodity just the value that the service or the commodity represents. If any individual or any community, therefore, will not pay enough for a service to justify the employment of men instead of children, then it goes without saying that the service is not of much importance to such individual or such community, that they will suffer little loss if deprived of it.

There is one further consideration that it seems to me is particularly pertinent in connection with the annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. There are communities, I believe, in which the activities of the Committee are resented on the ground that the community insists on its rights to manage its own affairs without what it is pleased to term outside interference. In the last analysis this usually means that the community insists on its right to debauch its humanity and to demoralize its coming citizens without protest from other human beings that chance to live beyond the bounds of an arbitrary political division. But Washington can make no such claim. We are not responsible for our home government. The President of the United States and the National Congress represent the real government of our city. The citizens of the country at large select our chief officer and our lawmakers for us, and if they fail to make laws that measure up to what the Child Labor Committee feels are necessary it is perfectly within the sphere of its rights to enter its protest and to make its suggestions.

Washington, as the nation's capital, and, governed as it is by the selected and collective intelligence of the country at large,

should be a model in everything that pertains to civic advancement. It should have a model child labor law, and the mere fact that our children are being sacrificed only by dozens instead of by hundreds and by thousands, as they are in other places, is a poor plea to enter in justification of the absence of any child labor legislation in the District of Columbia. In Washington there is little excuse for child labor; here it has not yet secured the foothold that it has in other places; here it has not yet arrayed behind it interests that do not wish to be disturbed, and for these very reasons we should now draft and place upon our statute books a model child labor law that would serve as a guide and an encouragement to other and less fortunate communities which are beginning their struggle against an already intrenched evil.

PAST AND PRESENT ARGUMENTS AGAINST CHILD LABOR.[1]

By John Graham Brooks,
President of the American Social Science Association, the National Consumers' League, etc., Cambridge, Mass.

I suppose it has happened to almost all of us having looked even superficially at a subject like that of the evils of child labor to feel that the arguments that are really strongest in his mind are not of much practical value, certainly for any propaganda or definite legislative proposal.

I am going to try to bring out one point which I hope at any rate will be of some value, but first I shall note two of these stronger arguments that would probably weigh lightly before any legislative committee.

I imagine that the future, more mature and wiser than we are, will look back at us precisely as we look back upon those who first put childhood to such cruel uses in English mills in the last century. Relatively to our own time and light, we are perhaps even more blameworthy. To think that we should keep a child under school instruction just up to the point, certainly the most delicately important one educationally in his life, when the sex consciousness begins to appear; the very period when ordered discipline is necessary, of the highest sort, and the noblest appeals to the imagination. Just at that point we stop his schooling and throw him out into the great rough and tumble of modern industry. A wiser future will mark that down against us as a crime. I am not going to argue this, but it would weigh more than any practical issue that I could present. Again, the condition of modern industry, the pace that it takes, the routine character of it and the almost pitiless requirements are all against the child's one resource of learning the art of fellowship through play. The play instinct is crippled in mill and factory and mine. For this,

1 Address given in the Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor, at the Second Session of the Annual Meeting, Washington, December 8, 1905.

too, the world of the future will criticise us where we employ child labor, as we criticise those against whom Shaftesbury made his great fight.

Mr. Carnegie is reported to have said the other day that the slave had a cash value of $1,000, but that our healthy immigrants were worth four times that man for man. Yet these are mostly uninstructed. If Mr. Carnegie's estimate is even approximately true, how much more should we get if our children were kept out of industry and put where they belong, at school, until their faculties were really strong and disciplined and they were matured for the life struggle. What an infinite treasure of labor force would be added to us if we were to do that. And that touches only the economic side of the argument. I have often said if I had some sort of magic power to do one single thing to help in the struggle, it would be this: I would keep under the best system of education every mother's son, every child, until it was *seventeen years of age.* It would relieve that kind of competition for all those that are least able to bear it at the bottom of this social or industrial scale, aside from fitting and strengthening the child and society generally. Nor should we neglect the plainest lesson in this long history, which is that since 1802 when the English legislature began to take the child out of the industries, when they were working at six, seven, eight years of age interminable hours, there has not been one single step taken to release the child from the burdens of industry that has not enriched the child life, the life of the family and that of society at large.

And that brings me to my one point. I cannot state it better than to recall what I heard in a country district from a splendid old farmer of my acquaintance whom I have seen two or three times in a sort of rage because his children insisted upon buying underclothes for winter weather. He said, "I didn't have any underclothing, and I got on, didn't I?" I have also seen him in a rage because his children wanted to go to a dentist. He said, "I never went to a dentist. I never had a dentist's bill to pay, and I got on well enough." The strict counterpart of this argument I have heard again and again in the South, and I have heard it here in the North in defence of child labor, "I went to work when I was seven or eight years old, and my brother went to work and my father went to work, and every one I knew went to work, and we have

got on, haven't we?" This is but another way of saying with the old farmer, "My children don't need flannels or a dentist any more than I did." It fails to take account of every change in the standard of refinement in our modern life. Let me illustrate: The most eminent German, in my opinion, that has ever come to this country told me the way he was admitted to the legal bar. He came here as a forty-eighter, and after studying Blackstone and all the other books very carefully he went down to a mid-western state to see the judge who had charge of the examinations. The judge instantly fell in love with him, as a great many other people have. He said, "Where did you come from?" "I came from Germany, from the revolutionary fury of '48." The judge was exceedingly interested and asked him all sorts of questions, and could not leave him alone on account of his fascination for the history of this young German. And as an hour passed away, the judge said, "Let us take a drink," and they went downstairs and took a drink. When they came back this young man was very restless that his examination hadn't begun. His story went on, and finally they had another drink. The young man finally said, "I must have my examination. I have to go back by horseback, and it is a long ride." And he said the old judge took out his watch and exclaimed, "God bless you, young man, you have been a member of this bar for two hours and fifty minutes."

There are two whiskies and an admission to the bar. What happens to-day in my own community? In the first place, the boy has to have a college education or he cannot take the first step to get into the law school. He has to reach a certain standard, and he has to enter on a course of study that is very much more difficult than any work in college. And every one has to use all his energy, and after three years they are not admitted to the bar, but they first get a chance to be examined. Here you have it; from two whiskies up to this raised standard of three strenuous years of study.

It matters not whether it is a doctor, a lawyer or a carpenter or a machinist. Almost in every important work of life the standard requires new efficiency and new training and an altogether altered quality of work and efficiency.

Those who oppose the new child legislation are falling back on the two whiskies argument: "Oh, I got along pretty well and

I went to work very early," forgetting those profound changes that have taken place in all industries and in every bit of work in which the standard has been greatly raised. It is difficult to exaggerate the difference in the standard of requirements for the ordinary child of to-day if he is to get out of it anything like the advantage that is really his. He has a right to the standard which the new age sets, or he is handicapped and defrauded.

As with all the professions so with all the trades, we are cruel to the child beyond any power I have to describe it, unless we recognize this difference in the standard of requirements. It has been always considered that there is no better test of civilization than the way women are treated in society, but there is a better test, and that is the way we treat the child. By as much as the child is deprived of education that will enable him to take up the new pace that industry sets, and then to mature his strength and faculties so he may do his work to his own advantage and to the advantage of society generally, by just so far as we deprive the boy of the chance of lengthening school life, we are not only inflicting rank injustice upon him, we are unjust to the future of the family and to the community. Even the thing called civilization is to that extent defeated and discredited.

THE PHYSICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR[1]

By George M. Kober, M.D.,
Chairman of District of Columbia Child Labor Committee.

As chairman of the local committee I desire to express our deep appreciation of the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee to secure a model child labor law for the District of Columbia. I deem it a special privilege to preside over one of the sessions of its meeting when the subject for discussion is "New Legislation, with special reference to the needs of the District of Columbia."

Child labor as a menace to industry, education, good citizenship and to the health of the children has been forcefully presented in most effective and instructive addresses, and will doubtless be again emphasized. There is one phase of the question which strongly appeals to me, and that is the effect of premature and involuntary labor upon the health and the physical welfare of the child.

Physiologists have long since demonstrated that the muscles of the average child attain only at the age of thirteen a certain amount of strength and capacity for work. Up to this time the muscular fibers contain a large per cent. of water, and in consequence are very tender and immature. As a consequence of this imperfect muscular development it is not surprising that we should find such a large percentage of children engaged in workshops, factories, or even at the writing desk or the merchant counter, develop lateral curvature of the spine and other muscular deformities, not to mention their general weakness and predisposition to rickets, tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases; all of the bad effects are, of course, very much intensified by unsanitary environments, especially when these occupations are attended by the inhalation of dust, impure air and injurious gases.

[1] Introductory address, as presiding officer at the Third Session of the Annual Meeting Washington, D. C., December 9th, 1905.

Child labor differs in degree, but never in kind. The ordinary messenger or newsboy perhaps does not sacrifice his health, but his morals and his education must inevitably suffer. And so we see different gradations until some of the most atrocious forms of child labor are encountered.

Dr. Daniels, in speaking of her personal observation in New York, tells us that a child of three can straighten out the leaves of tobacco and can stick together the material which forms the stems of artificial flowers. At four he can put the cover on paper boxes; between four and six he can sew on buttons and pull basting threads. A girl between the age of eight and twelve can finish trousers as well as her mother. After she is twelve years, if of good size, she can earn more money in the work shops, because she will be accepted if her size justifies the evasion of the law. The boys practically perform the same labor as the girls, except that they leave home earlier and engage in street work as peddlers, newsboys or bootblacks. Dr. Daniels has actually seen two children under three years of age working in the tenements of New York, one a boy two and a half years of age assisting the mother, and four other children under the age of twelve, in making artificial flowers. These children earned from fifty cents to a dollar and a half a week, obviously at the expense of health and education, rights which neither the parents nor the community nor the State have a right to withhold. A feeling seems to exist in Washington that there is no special need for the enactment of a law to prevent or regulate child labor, but the same class of people told us years ago that we had no slums, and hence there was no occasion for the betterment of the housing conditions, when, as a matter of fact, investigations have shown conclusively that in many respects we are as badly, if not worse, off than the cities of New York and Chicago. Those who are familiar with the subject know that there is a local situation which demands immediate legislation. But whether the number is large or small it matters little, and it is clearly the duty of every community to resort to preventive measures against this hydra-headed evil.

You will say, what is the use of enacting child labor laws when such atrocious instances are possible in the city of New York, where child labor laws exist. I grant that just such evils will be witnessed in New York or any other American city so long as public

opinion and the conscience of the American people is not sufficiently aroused to demand the enforcement of the law.

It has been estimated that there are in this city between fifteen hundred and two thousand children under the age of fourteen engaged in wage-earning occupations. And we feel that the enactment of a suitable law would guard these children and afford them a better opportunity of becoming useful citizens, and the consumer of goods would at least have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not stained with the sweat and blood of helpless children.

How many more of the six thousand children between the ages of eight and twelve who are not now at school are engaged in wage-earning occupations we do not know. But whether they are at work because of the necessities of their parents or because of their own disinclination to study, the law should intervene and establish an effective remedy.

It has been urged, and no doubt in many instances quite correctly, that child labor is encouraged by the greed of the employers, but I am in a position to know that the business men of this city would hail with delight the enactment of a child labor law. As it is now, it is not always an easy matter to refuse to lend a helping hand in apparently deserving and pathetic cases.

It is indeed deplorable, as pointed out by Dr. Adler, that so little has been accomplished in the way of educating the public to sound and full appreciation of the evil consequences of child labor, and it is especially humiliating to know that the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government, is the only community with the exception of Georgia, Idaho, Nevada and the Indian Territory, which is at present without legislation of some kind on the subject of child labor.

The merits of the proposed bill will be pointed out to you by subsequent speakers. We know that the commissioners are deeply interested in this vitally important question, and we confidently look to Congress for relief, and to you for your hearty sympathy and support.

I have already referred to the fact that a determined effort will be made to secure the enactment of a child labor law at the present session of Congress. The reason the law was not enacted last year was on account of the shortness of the session and the lateness with which the bill was introduced. There was very lit-

tle opposition,—although there is always some opposition to movements of this character,—yet I think there is every reason to hope for the speedy enactment of this law. The bill which has been presented in Congress this session is not exactly a model child labor law, but the commissioners thought it best to introduce it in the present form, and will welcome any amendments that are deemed desirable or necessary in the light of subsequent discussion.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE WORKING CHILDREN[1]

By Florence Kelley,
Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

Never again can the problem of the working children in this Republic be regarded as merely a local one, when the textile industry stretches from Texas, Alabama and Georgia northward through all the Atlantic States to Pennsylvania, New York and New England; when the glass industry, to-night, while we are gathered here, is employing little boys in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri; and in only two of those states—Ohio and Illinois—is there even a pretence that it is illegal to have children working all night. Surely the American people can never again honestly regard these industries, and the conditions attending labor in them, as matters of merely local moment. It is only necessary to state the situation to make clear how fatuous is the attempt to deal with the textile industries through the legislatures of a dozen different states; and with the glass industries through the legislatures of a second dozen states.

These industries never consider themselves as local ones when they come to Congress and ask the nation to protect their interests. Then they appear as a unit, having identical reasons for their action, identical arguments in their own behalf.

When it is a question of the nation checking, even indirectly, their cruel robbery of the cradle, they urge that it is with West Virginia or with New Jersey that the friends of the children should deal, the state legislatures having been hitherto, on the whole, satisfactory to the employers.

[1] Address in the Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor, at the Second Session of the Annual Meeting, Washington, December 8, 1905.

Never again can it be a matter of merely local concern what hours the children are working. They will be the republic when we are dead, and we cannot leave it to the local legislators, here and there, to decide unobserved what sort of citizens shall be produced in this or that State, whether they shall be strong in body, mind and character, or whether they shall grow up enfeebled by overwork in early childhood.

In the past this great Republic has cared so little about its children that, though the census of 1900 reported half a million of them between the ages of ten and fourteen years who could neither read nor write—native children, not immigrants (the little black children in the cotton fields picking cotton, and the little white children in the cotton mills, spinning and helping to weave it)—when the census showed, five years ago, half a million of these children, what attention was given to the facts?

They were concealed in two obscure pages of the census of 1900, until, within a month, in November, 1905, there has come, five years belated, a bulletin giving particulars. The children who were ten years old in 1900 are fifteen years old now, and the children who were thirteen years old are many of them married now. And now we get those belated tidings!

As to the cotton crop, we Americans are so very eager! We have even been willing to corrupt the men who knew anything about it if they would but give us tidings a few hours ahead of the legal moment of publication. But for information about the children who work up the cotton crop, we can wait until they are grown up and married! We Americans care so little about the working children, who are citizens in the bud, who will be the Republic when we are dead!

For more than a generation we have had a so-called Department of Education. It has published information so inconclusive and so belated that it is the laughing stock of Europeans interested in our educational institutions; so belated, moreover, that it is worthless for our own uses in obtaining improved legislation in this country.

Meanwhile it is left to a feeble volunteer society to collect a few hundred dollars, here and there, and publish in January, every year, the new statutes which have taken effect in the twelve months next preceding. Why does not the Department of Education do

this? Why has not the Department of Labor always done this? Why have they not made it a joint undertaking? What are these departments for, if they are not to furnish to the people information concerning the working children at a time when it can be used?

So far as I have been able to learn by studying the reports of these two departments, the hieroglyphics on the pyramid of Cheops are not more remote from the life of to-day than their statistics are remote from the life of the working children of Georgia and Pennsylvania.

It is time to recognize that the children who will be the Republic have rights now. It is important that the American people should know under what conditions they are living, and working, and becoming invalids or criminals, thousands of them dying in childhood and early youth. Surely it is more important to know these things, that we may act upon the knowledge, than to be informed with furious haste by the associated press whenever another great department hopes that it has found some new variety of insect which may destroy the boll-weevil. Surely it is more important that the American people should know what is really happening to its young children in industry than that we should learn at brief intervals how the young lobsters are faring on the coast of Maine and the young trout in the remote streams of Northern Wisconsin.

At last, there is a proposal that we should rise from our low position among the nations when we are ranked according to our care of our children. We are not, when graded according to our care and education of our working children, in the same class of enlightened and humane nations as England, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia. Rather, we rank with Russia, in the matter of our half million illiterate native children in this century, as we ranked with Russia in the matter of slavery and serfdom in the last century. Measured by our cruel neglect of our working children, it is undeniably with Russia that we stand to-day.

Those nations which have cared effectively for their working children have done so through their central governments, not, as we have vainly attempted, through fifty-two legislatures. It is now proposed that we should limp haltingly after those nations, though Congress may be by no means ready to legislate in a unified

way for the children as it does, for instance, for the textile industry, the glass industry and the interests of agriculture.

It is proposed that there should be devoted to the children one bureau of our government, by means of which the people should be able to obtain, from month to month, recent trustworthy information concerning everything that enters into the lives of the children; everything that makes for or against their vital efficiency, their educational opportunity, their future industrial and civic value.

A bill will be presented to Congress, with the hope that there may be established a bureau of research and publicity in the interests of all the children in the Republic.

CHILD LABOR IN THE COAL MINES[1]

By Owen R. Lovejoy,
Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The first field investigation conducted by the National Child Labor Committee was among the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania. Facts revealed in the hearings before the commission appointed by President Roosevelt to seek a settlement of the great strike of 1902 led the committee to believe that conditions existed there which would serve not only to illustrate prominent evils of premature child labor in other sections of our country, but also that, once known, would arouse public opinion to give such expression in legislative action as would bring about a higher plane of life in the anthracite region itself. The committee believed a proper educational preparation for American life was possible for the children of the mining district, and this without bringing undue hardship upon the families, and without in any way hampering the legitimate processes of the coal industry.

This investigation, carried on extensively and at different seasons during the past eighteen months, has demonstrated the wisdom of the committee's action. In every part of the region visited child labor was found to exist. No colliery has been visited in which children have not been found employed at ages prohibited by the law of the State. Various estimates have been given of the number of boys under fourteen and under sixteen years employed in and about the hard coal mines of Pennsylvania. The figures have ranged from 6,000 to 12,000 under fourteen years. All of these estimates are generalizations, based upon specific data which may, and may not, be sufficient. Our own estimates are based on the study of a number of boroughs believed to be typical of the region, and have been gathered in co-operation with school officials, mine officers,

1 Address at the Philadelphia session and at the Second Session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1905.

and other citizens interested in the moral aspects of our work. Without entering upon a detailed discussion of the statistics collected, it may be stated that we have estimated not less than 9,000 or 10,000 boys under fourteen years of age in the mines and breakers of the region, while the percentage in one borough investigated, if carried through the entire region, would give a total of 12,800. By the laws of the State no child under fourteen years of age may be employed at any labor about a coal mine.

Let us not be misunderstood. It is not claimed that there is open and rebellious violation of the laws by the mining companies in the employment of little children. Through defects in the law, sought to be remedied by legislation last year, it was possible for any child of any age, through the perjury of the parent and the pathetic greed of the notary public who would record any kind of falsehood for a fee of twenty-five cents, to secure a certificate alleging him to be fourteen years of age. With this official document a boy might go to the outside foreman at a mine and secure employment if the mine were in need of boys. It is obvious to a man of average discernment that a boy of nine or ten years is not fourteen, and one breaker boss smiled significantly as he said to me last May, "It's queer how all these little fellows who have come to us this spring are just fourteen and were all born on the first of May." At this mine twenty boys were found in a single group, only three of whom were fourteen years old, while a picture was taken of five of the boys, three of whom were nine and two were ten years old. At another mine the following memorandum is found in my field notes: "Here twenty-two boys were interviewed at the noon interval, all of whom admitted they were under fourteen except one Scotch boy (whose age, by the school record, was found to be ten) and one Irish boy of fifteen, who has been out of school and at work for more than six years. Of the others, one was nine (eight by the school record), three were ten, two were eleven, six were twelve, and three were thirteen (although the school record showed one of the thirteen-year-old boys to be eleven.)"

But while these men are certain that they are employing boys younger than the prescribed age, they are not guilty of violation of law, since every boy has come with an official document, issued by authority of this great State, declaring him to be of the legal age for employment. It may be asked whether these men are not hard

and unfeeling to commit this moral offence, even though shielded by a defective law. The answer is that many of them received their education in the coal breaker in days when school privileges were less available than now. Many frankly affirm their belief that these early years in the coal breaker are better for the boys than the same number of years spent in school. Furthermore, there are many boys so near the legal age as to render detection of fraud by the employer impossible—and if these certificates are accepted by him in one case, he cannot refuse to accept them in all cases. And whether these mine officials approve or disapprove the system, they are employed by the mining company to produce the maximum output at the minimum cost. Their business is not child protection but coal mining, and no commonwealth should place upon men who are directly interested in the evasion of a law, the burden of its enforcement.

By the child labor law which went into effect May 1, 1905, the chief defects in former laws were removed, documentary evidence of age being required and certain educational standards prescribed. Unfortunately, by the declared unconstitutionality of one section of the law, the whole has been regarded in many sections as inoperative, and extensive investigations in many boroughs, subsequent to May 1st, failed to show any important improvement as a result of the law.

The work of the small boys at the hard coal mines is principally in the breakers. Pictures of little children toiling under heavy burdens and in noisome channels in coal mines are of the past—thanks to an awakened humanity and improved machinery. The chief duties of the few small boys who work inside the hard coal mines to-day are as mule drivers, spraggers, and gate-tenders. Probably a larger percentage of boys are employed inside the mines in the Wyoming Valley than in other parts of the region, because the gaseous condition of the mines in that region requires many doors to regulate the air currents.

In the coal breaker the principal employment of the boys is in picking slate from the coal. Seated on a board laid across the chute in which the coal comes pouring down from the heavy cylinders where it was dumped by the mine cars to be broken into sizes, the little boy regulates the flow of coal by the position of his feet in the chute and picks out the slate and rock as the coal runs past. In the breakers where the coal is cleaned dry, the cloud of dust is so dense that light cannot penetrate, and even on bright days

the breaker boys are compelled to wear mine lamps in their little caps to enable them to see the coal at their own feet. On sultry days the dust cloud is often seen hanging like a heavy pall above the great coal breaker for an hour after the work of the day is done.

Many coal breakers in the anthracite region no longer clean the coal dry, but have introduced cleaning machinery, and the wet process which greatly improves the conditions of labor for the breaker boys. That all coal breakers might introduce these improvements is generally conceded by coal operators. The improvements have been made, however, only in portions of the coal region in which the coal is so dirty as to render dry-cleaning impossible—not from consideration for the comfort of the laborers. The machinery for wet cleaning is expensive and it is doubtful whether any coal mining company will voluntarily introduce the improvements unless compelled by the quality of the coal.

While the labor of young boys is most convenient in this department of the process of preparing coal for market, there is nothing in the nature of the work itself which makes it impossible for a larger boy or a man. It is only because of the economy in wages that child labor is so greatly preferred to the work of men, although the young boy appears to endure the labor of sitting bent over a coal chute all day with less fatigue, and can work at a speed alleged to be greater than that of the man.

Much has been said of the extreme danger to boys working in the coal mines and breakers. Probably there has been an exaggerated idea of the dangers. Every reasonable precaution appears to have been taken by most mining companies against danger and loss of life. It is true we occasionally hear of a little boy in the mine run over by a coal car, or kicked to death by a mule, or fatally injured by a piece of falling slate. And in the coal breakers little boys are sometimes ground in the large crushers that break the coal, caught in the wheels or other machinery, or buried in a stream of coal—the death suffered recently by the little boy in Pittston. But few of these accidents occur in the regular routine of the boys' duties. Few, probably, which with forethought and mature judgment—two of the qualities so rare in a small boy—might not have been avoided.

I believe that general statistics will bear out the statement that

boys working in the coal breakers suffer no more frequently from injury, as compared with the men injured there, than is the case in other industries. A recent study of the reports of factory inspectors in several of our industrial States, shows a remarkable uniformity in the precentage of accidents. We find in the textile mills, foundries, steel and iron mills, glass houses and machine shops employing children that, in proportion to the number of children employed, accidents to children under sixteen years of age are from 250 to 300 per cent. more frequent than to adults. These unfeeling figures present a terrible arraignment of our industrial system. All our boasted protection of home and childhood stands ashamed before the bare fact that, in working out our industrial purposes in America, we subject our little children to a danger nearly three times as great as that incurred by men, instead of throwing about the weak and defenseless those special safeguards invoked by their helplessness—a humane principle recognized as fundamental by nearly every savage tribe in the history of human evolution.

The menace to morals is not less than that to health. The life of the little boy in the coal breaker is exposed to all the rough usage and hardening surroundings which characterize a form of labor requiring a maximum of manual and a minimum of mental exertion. To sit all day over a dusty coal chute, fixing the mind solely on the distinction between a piece of coal and a piece of rock or slate, and in the close company of a group of boys free from the restraints of home or school, is a kind of preparation for a nine-year-old boy from which, it is true, many have emerged to noble and educated manhood, but from which I venture every right-thinking father and mother who reads these words would make all possible sacrifice to shield their own boys. It is unnecessary here to enter upon a discussion of the evils of profanity, obscenity, gambling and various forms of physical intemperance. It is enough to say that the lives of many of the small boys in the coal region are already so tainted by vicious habits that an almost insuperable obstacle to a maturity of virtue and intelligence is presented.

Efforts to restrict such labor of children is opposed, however, on the ground that child labor in the coal region is not the labor of the "American child," but rather the labor of the little ignorant Slav or other foreigner, who is "much better off working

there than he could possibly be in the country of his nativity—or even in the public school which he cannot appreciate." The reply is that the children who work in the coal mines of this State are not foreigners. They are Americans! They are the children of parents who have been drawn to us from other countries and who are called "foreigners." But the Slavs who migrate to the coal regions are principally young, enterprising people, whose children are born after they are settled here and call this country "home."

In one borough the school enrollment shows these remarkable facts: that of the 3,288 children enrolled only 101 (3 per cent.) are foreign-born Slavs, while 3,187 are American-born. But 3,165 (41 per cent.) are the children of foreign-born Slavs, and live in homes essentially foreign and un-American. This is typical of many parts of the coal region. Our problem, therefore, is not the problem of the foreign child in an American country, as is often supposed, but the problem of the *American child* in a *foreign country*. As American citizens we must demand that the highest protection and the best opportunities of our country shall be given these children already handicapped by the uninspiring influences of home.

The attitude of the mother of one eleven-year-old girl, who was an unwilling truant from school, is significant. She defended herself by saying: "Sadie, no need no more school. She got more school as me already." The duty of the State is clear. The Slav child is the helpless victim of the frugality, ignorance, and industrial instincts of his parents. He is taken from school at the earliest available age to eke out the family income by a kind of labor that develops brawn but atrophies brain, and the father and mother are blandly unconscious that they are hanging about the neck of their own child a millstone of ignorance and industrial inefficiency which will drag ever heavier, as the awakening forces of our American civilization accelerate the tide of social progress.

It is not true, as often claimed by those who exploit these children, that the Slav child is stolid, unpromising and unfit for any other kind of life than a life of drudgery in a state of ignorance. One interesting school in the anthracite region is attended by pupils who are, in almost equal numbers, children of Slav and of American parents, although the Slav children drop out rapidly after the early grades. The high school of the borough presents this remarkable

appeal for the education of the Slav child, that although but eleven of the ninety-nine pupils enrolled in the four high school classes last year were Slavs, the honors for scholarship in both the first and second year classes were held by young Lithuanians, while the valedictorian of Class 1905 was a young Jewess born in Russia. A new social standard must be caused to prevail in this region. The Slav must be looked upon as something better than a beast of burden, and must be forced to higher levels. Alert and industrious, he will need no further urging, given one generation of compulsory opportunity. His children must be safeguarded by law and institutions against a standard of thought and living which are the racial inheritance of centuries, and made to feel that the highest gifts in the power of our democracy are his birthright.

Our interest in this problem is not principally for the well-being of a specific child here and there who is in danger of evil, or accident, or intellectual dwarfing. These individual sufferers from bad conditions may be left, it is assumed, to the kindly care of such reformatory and corrective agencies as are found in nearly every community. Our interest centers in establishing social conditions in these communities that shall prevent such waste of health and character as menaces public progress. The institutions of our democratic civilization are involved. The coal deposits of that small region are rich beyond present computation, but the human life of the region is more valuable. We find good coal so great a convenience that it is regarded as almost indispensable, and those who are devout do not cease to offer up morning and evening prayers to those who own the coal to supply it at a reasonable price. But coal is not essential to us. There are substitutes, even though expensive and inconvenient. There is no substitute for manhood. No fuel will keep the fires burning on the nation's altars save virtue, intelligence, and industrial efficiency.

And were it necessary to employ these little boys of nine and ten years in order to produce coal at a reasonable price—which no intelligent person believes—better mortgage the factory and the farm and the store and the church and the home to pay the coal bill than put a mortgage on the efficiency of the coming generations which may require centuries to lift.

CHILD LABOR IN THE GLASS INDUSTRY

By Owen R. Lovejoy,
Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The glass industry is at once the oldest and the youngest among American manufacturing enterprises. As early as 1609 a glass-house was established in Jamestown, Va., which manufactured the first goods exported from this country. The enterprise was unsuccessful, however, and until the middle of last century glass-making failed to gain a hopeful footing among us. Indeed the year 1865—forty years ago—when Boston was first able to manufacture flint glass equal to the best made in England, may be regarded as the beginning of successful glass manufacture in America. Its present honorable position among domestic manufactures has been attained mainly in the last twenty-five years, while the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed more radical changes in the industry, both at home and abroad, than had occurred in the preceding three hundred years.

From the installation of the continuous tank in place of the pot system of heating the glass for manipulation, introduced here first at Jeannette, Pa., in 1888, invention and improvement have crowded upon each other in rapid succession until to-day the window glass blowing machine is a proven success, the plate glass industry is revolutionized by labor and fuel-saving devices, the machine for blowing chimneys and wide-mouth bottles is driving the hand blowers to the wall by cheaper and better production, while within the present year machine blowers for small-necked ware have disproven the last contention of the opponents of mechanical progress and bid fair in the near future to monopolize this branch of the art.

In the decade 1890-1900 the capital invested in the industry increased 52.4 per cent to a total of over $61,000,000, the increase being due largely to the tank system and other forms of more expensive machinery, and to the greater expense in packages for shipping purposes. The largest single item of the $16,631,000 total ex-

pense in the manufacture of 1900 was $4,000,000 for packages, metal caps and rubber stoppers, an amount equal to 28 per cent. of the total cost. The production in 1900 was 45 per cent. greater than in 1890, although the average working season, "fire," in 1900 was but six months, as against ten months in 1890, and furthermore, owing to labor and trade difficulties, the possible output in 1900 was reduced by the idleness of 15 per cent. of the factories, representing a capital of $3,500,000. A study of the trade journals and a field investigation of the industry lead to the belief that the growth, both in number and size of plants, is more rapid since 1900 than before.

No modern industry, with the possible exception of silk-throwing and cotton manufacture, makes a stronger demand for child labor than the manufacture of glass. At the side of the blower and gatherer, in the blistering heat of the furnace, stands the little "cracker-off" boy who breaks the cooling waxlike glass from the end of the blowpipe after the chimney or bottle has been left in the mold; sitting at the feet of the blower is the "holding-mold" boy who opens and shuts the molds; then the "sticker-up" or "warming-in" boy takes the ware from the mold and holds it to the "glory-hole," reheating the mouth that it may be shaped by the gaffer, or finisher; from the finisher the "carry-in" boy takes the ware to the lehr, where it is properly tempered and made ready for packing. The other forms of child labor in some factories—etching, polishing, tying, packing, are unimportant as compared with those mentioned.

The employment of children at night is possibly the crowning offense of the glass industry, as viewed by those who oppose injurious child labor. The introduction of the tank system, making profitable the continuous operation of the plant, marks a decided step in the progress of the industry, but it has largely increased the demand for boys at night work until probably 60 per cent. of the 7,500 boys employed in glass-houses work at night every other week. The evil of night labor is intensified by the abnormal temperature of the factory: and this from both the physical and the moral standpoints. The boy is in close contact with men who labor at a kind of work requiring quickness, precision, nervous strain, and who in the excitement of the moment are often forgetful of the moralities of conduct so essential to the formation of a boy's character. One hesitates to state what might be construed as a criticism of any group

of America's working people by whose energy and intelligence the foundations of our national prosperity have been laid. Yet it is a common observation that the character of men is often greatly affected by the nature of their employment: profanity and intemperance being peculiarly prevalent in industries demanding unusual risks to life or limb, or requiring labor in an abnormal atmosphere. It is believed that a better spirit is developing among glass-house operatives, partly due no doubt to the educational value of the trade union movement. Yet much remains to be desired. Many glass factories are sorely crippled following every pay day or holiday, owing to the intemperance of some of the men and their incapacity for careful work. The introduction of such devices as reduce the exposure of the men to excessive heat will do more than any form of temperance agitation to lessen the abnormal craving for stimulant which their overtaxed bodies now express.

The work in a glass-house is usually by the piece, and during the rush hours of a "turn," when all is excitement and hurry, the visitor will shudder to hear a burly man curse his little helper in language bound to leave its dark impress on his plastic mind and color his imagination with stains that cannot be effaced. It is significant that in many glass-houses one hardly finds the child of a glass-blower. One worker who has spent his life in the glass-house when asked the reason replied: "I would rather send my boys straight to hell than send them by way of the glass-house." A young friend, whose character and family are well known, said recently that of the 175 boys with whom he worked in an Indiana factory two years ago there were only ten at the end of the fire who were not confirmed drinkers of intoxicants. And the proprietor of a successful Ohio house said last summer, in reply to an appeal for the education of the boys: "You can't do anything for them. The little devils are vicious from their birth." A somewhat intimate acquaintance with the glass-house boys of this and other communities left no doubt as to the viciousness of many, though the date of its genesis was not established. One inclines, however, to the opinion of a discerning school principal in a thriving glass town in Pennsylvania, who says: "My observation is that when a boy leaves school and goes into the factory at twelve or thirteen, by the time he is fifteen or sixteen he is too foul-mouthed to associate with decent

people." The injurious moral effects of the industry on little boys are further proven by the statement of another leading Ohio glass manufacturer who urged the advantage of securing boys from eleven to thirteen years of age by saying: "When a boy gets to be sixteen or seventeen years old he becomes lazy and heady and will not work as he used to." When asked whether the factory life itself had anything to do with this state of moral fatigue, he replied that there was no way of comparing because "a boy rarely ever goes into the glass-house after he reaches sixteen or seventeen years."

The menace to the physical well-being of the child is not less. Irregular hours of labor and rest are undermining to the mature constitution. How much more to the undeveloped, rapidly growing boy. And when this irregular employment is pursued in an excessive heat which first stimulates and then stupefies, sending the boy home at 2.30 or 4.30 in the morning through the raw, damp night, the evil is intensified. Many mothers corroborate the criticism of one expressed in these words: "When Charley works on the night shift he hasn't any appetite," although there are manufacturers who contend that the boys get more rest and are better in health when on the night shift than when on the day.

The National Child Labor Committee proposes legislation which shall forbid the employment of any boy under fourteen years of age in a glass-house, and restrict night employment to those over sixteen. Two objections are advanced, by some representatives of the industry, to such legislation. The first objection is that glass cannot be manufactured without the aid of small boys. It is contended that the efficiency of the "shop" (the group working at a single furnace) depends on the presence of the boys; that they are used for forms of work which men either will not or cannot do, because they labor at wages adequate for boy's work, but too small to induce men to work. One manufacturer a year ago contended that several of the best houses in Pennsylvania would be compelled to close if the age limit for children were raised from thirteen to fourteen years.

It is interesting to see that this despairing prophecy has not been fulfilled, but that, on the other hand, the industry has substantially increased in Pennsylvania since the enactment of that law, and, so far as discovered, no inconvenience of importance has any-

where been suffered. A study of the industry in recent years will prove the groundlessness of such fears, and will demonstrate that the manufacture of glass is so firmly established in America that no restrictive legislation contemplated by any intelligent body of citizens for child protection could materially check its growth.

That glass manufacture does not depend on child labor is shown by the fact that during the decade 1890-1900, while the number of factories increased 20 per cent., the capital invested 52 per cent., the number of employees 17 per cent., and the output 45 per cent., the number of children employed increased but 2.5 per cent. In the pressed and blown glass branch of the industry, in which children are employed—practically none being engaged in the building or pressed glass industry—the increase is no less striking. In the number of factories the increase was 19 per cent., in capital invested 54 per cent., in number of wage-earners 24 per cent., in children 5.6 per cent.

The location of the glass industry is even more interesting than these general statistics. The manufacture of fruit-jars, bottles of all kinds, and lamp chimneys has moved steadily westward during the past fifteen years from Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and New Jersey, where child labor laws were lax and restriction of night labor almost unknown, into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, States in which laws have been enacted increasingly restrictive, and in two of which night work under sixteen years of age is prohibited. In the census of 1880 Indiana did not report the manufacture of fruit jars; in 1890 it manufactured 31 per cent. of the total output, and in 1900 the percentage had increased to 70. In 1880 Pennsylvania manufactured nearly two-thirds of all our lamp chimneys. In 1890 Ohio stood first, manufacturing twice as many as Pennsylvania, and in 1900 Indiana had attained first place, manufacturing 45 per cent. of the total, followed by Pennsylvania with 26 per cent., and Ohio with 21 per cent. This does not mean that the manufacture has declined in these eastern States, but only that the growth in other States has far outstripped them. One of the largest and possibly the most successful among the bottle manufacturing houses is now located in Ohio, and a leading official of the plant explained the entire absence of boys on the night shift by the statement that "the reason shops find it necessary to hire boy labor for night work is

because they do not want to hire men." When asked whether the demand for cheap labor was essential, he replied: "They can all afford to employ men and boys over sixteen. It is simply greed." An outsider would hesitate to make so sweeping a charge, but the statement of one in the business may be quoted without offense.

The decade 1890-1900 shows both Indiana and Illinois leading Pennsylvania in the manufacture of glass bottles, though the latter State permitted child labor at ages and hours forbidden in both the others.

The position of the glass industry in the world markets is no less encouraging to the cause we represent. Between the years 1890-1900 French mirror glass imports decreased 95 per cent., imported polished plate of all kinds decreased 79.8 per cent., fluted rolled and rough plate imports decreased 90 per cent., being nearly equalled in the latter year by the exports of a single American skylight factory, while the imports of all bottles, jars, carboys, etc., the branch of the trade especially employing children, decreased 49 per cent. In the same period the exports of "all other glass" except window glass increased 117.4 per cent.

The location of a glass-house is determined chiefly by cheapness of fuel, the largest single item of expense in manufacturing. The utilization of natural gas has caused it to follow closely the opening up of the natural gas belt, in the Pittsburgh district, along the Ohio River, through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Kansas, which reports no glass-houses in the census of 1900, to-day has not less than twenty in successful operation. The industry in the future will probably be less nomadic than formerly, owing to the greater expense of construction and to the recently proven success and economy of gas produced from crude oil—one firm recently reporting the operation of a plant by the use of crude oil gas, produced at the rate of 6,000 cubic feet of gas per barrel of oil, and at a cost of 7 cents per thousand feet.

The second consideration in determining location is market. Freight rates on glass are unusually high, and often the discrimination against those shipping between certain points is almost oppressive. The annual consumption of glass fruit jars is not less than 700,000 gross, while one lamp chimney factory manufactures thirty tons of glass a day at one of its plants and forty tons at another.

The superintendent of a large tumbler house in Pennsylvania affirms that the freight rate from his city to St. Louis is greater than the rate charged from Germany to St. Louis on the same class of ware. It is evident that the industry is far more sensitive to these market and freight conditions than almost any other extensive industry in the country, and the rapid increase in the use of bottles, table-ware, lamp chimneys and fruit jars throughout the West has combined with the oil and gas fields in winning the industry to the Western States.

The principal ingredients in the manufacture of glass have greatly decreased in cost within recent years, the total cost of soda-ash having fallen 27 per cent. during the decade 1890-1900, although the total consumption increased 63 per cent. Sand is found in so many sections of the country as to be in reach of all States manufacturing glass, while salt-cake, lime and limestone, nitrate of soda, arsenic and other ingredients do not enter into the question of location.

The third influence is the cost and availability of labor. As the silk industry is rushing into the mining region where girl labor is to be had in plenty and at small cost, so the glass industry tends to follow those heavier industries in which boys are not available, and to bid for the child life of those industrial communities. It is not denied that labor legislation restricting the employment of children has a certain influence at this point. It is only claimed that the other items of cost are of so much greater importance that a successful glass-house is not materially affected by such legislation as has been proposed by this committee.

Indeed, it is gratifying to learn from several of the most successful manufacturers that their desire to employ children in the industry is more from consideration for the boys and their needy families than because of the needs of the industry. And we may here appropriately introduce the second general objection to child labor legislation. It is well expressed in the words of an influential editor who said: "The objection to child labor legislation is more on account of the little fellows who would be deprived of the work than on account of the industry." The refuge of those compelled to acknowledge that the industry can grow and thrive without the labor of little children, but who still defend the custom, is in the

plea either that the children are better off in the factory than on the street; that they belong to the class had in mind by a prominent citizen who recently said: "If you educate all the people, who will do the dirty work, the hard manual labor?" or that the poor widow with the large family will be thrown upon public charity if the boy is taken from the factory.

To the first form of the objection it is only necessary to answer that the truth of the statement depends upon the nature of the factory and the condition of the street, and that the spirit of America has in mind educational provision for all children, who should be protected from both factory and street. If any child is reduced to either of these alternatives then a radical defect is to be unearthed in the life of that community and correction of the mal-condition should begin without delay.

To the second form of the objection the only answer in harmony with the ethics of democracy is that the division of society into two classes, one of which shall be educated and enjoy life, and the other be kept in ignorance and confined to "dirty work" and denied education for fear of arousing discontent, has been the curse of former civilizations—cursing both the servants and the served—and has no place in a society that lives by the participation of its citizens in its civic and political affairs.

The third form of the objection must be considered more seriously. No doubt many families are, in certain periods, kept from dire want through the meagre earnings of little children. No doubt also that if society is to compel the education of the children and their exclusion from injurious labor—both in the interest of the public welfare—society must also take the necessary steps to execute these laws without imposing undue hardship on those persons in greatest need of sympathy and social equity. It is impossible in this place to enter upon a defense of the position that every widow who seeks to rear and educate a family of children should be regarded as so clearly a contributor to the public wealth that her honorable maintenance shall be guaranteed as a matter of justice, not of charity. We must here confine ourselves to the discussion of the place of the child in the problem and the necessity of his elimination as a factor in domestic support.

It is granted that the wages of a small boy in a glass-house

will bring a pittance into the family treasury: it does not follow that the general condition of poverty in the community is therefore at all relieved. A stogie roller may earn $5 or $6 a week, or an expert who can roll 2500 a day may earn $12 a week in a tenement where vice and fever propagate together: it does not follow that stogie rolling is a blessing to the poor. On the other hand the average stogie roller grows poorer every year, and the influx of poverty, drawn by this and other forms of industry which bring quick returns without investment of capital or skill, fills the regions promoting them with an ever-increasing number of hungry mouths to the bewilderment, almost the despair, of philanthropic agencies. Great industries bring in their train the small merchant and the peddler, the cheap garment worker, and the stogie roller, who live often in abject poverty and work in cramped tenements of unventilated filth.

But it is interesting to note that only those industries that can profitably employ the ignorant, the weak, the children of the poor, are to any degree concerned in the protection of the poor widow and her offspring. The building trades have cost the lives of many toilers and left many poor widows and defenseless children, but one does not hear the boss carpenter or the employer of structural iron workers defending the employment of children on the basis of philanthropy. Neither the steel mills, the lumber camps, the manufactories of locomotives, or the great railroads seem sensitive—as industries—to the cry of the children in need of work. Only where the little child can be worked at a profit are men found solicitous for the welfare of the children who will be idle unless employed by them.

We have too long permitted the employer of children to feel that he holds a special guardianship over the widows of the commonwealth. We do not question his motives, for he sees the problem in the concrete rather than in its broad implications, and the customs of his industry have inevitably forced him to face conditions in the community which have brought him to his viewpoint. But it is the duty of the public to learn, and then to teach, that the cotton manufacturer, the silk manufacturer, the cigar manufacturer, the proprietor of a newspaper or telegraph office, the manufacturer of glass or the president of a coal mining company is no more responsible to relieve the poverty of the community through the employ-

ment of its little children than is the railroad manager, the building contractor, the steel manufacturer, the employer of 'longshoremen, the lumber dealer or the manufacturer of locomotives. Let each industry stand on its economic basis and let us remember that poverty is never eliminated by being congested, and that poor widowhood is not permanently relieved by such industries as bid for cheap labor and thus beckon the inefficient and needy to hover about them.

We contend then that the glass industry is not compelled to employ little children, either for the benefit of the children nor from necessities of the industry. The editor of the *National Glass Budget,* in the issue of November 25, 1905, echoes the sentiment of many prominent manufacturers in asserting that the introduction of modern machinery and automatic devices has "changed modern factory requirements to such an extent that it can truthfully be said that, as a rule, the glass factory of to-day which still requires the work of the small boy is operated in the crudest, most primitive, most expensive and antiquated manner." The auditor of one of the largest glass manufacturing concerns in America, a company which does not employ any child labor, said recently: "Flint glass manufacture has followed at the tail end of the procession. When you consider the ease with which steel and iron are handled in the great factories, and then watch the little boys carrying hot glass in the bottle houses, it looks extremely crude. There is a whole lot of this work which could be as well done by machinery." One of the owners of an extensive lamp chimney factory, operated now almost entirely by blowing machinery, estimates that they employ about one-half the number of boys formerly employed for the same amount of work; that whereas they formerly employed boys of twelve or fourteen years who earned $6 a week, they can now employ young men over sixteen years old whose earnings are from $14 to $20 a week. When asked if the net cost was not greater now than formerly his answer was, "We can now afford to pay men's wages for boy's work."

It is not, of course, suggested that child labor is no longer profitable in the making of glass. Many factories would be temporarily inconvenienced by being compelled to employ older boys for the work now done at trifling cost by young children. It is only con-

tended that the industry, as such, will not be injuriously affected by such restrictive legislation, but on the other hand will be stimulated to greater economies and improvements than will be utilized while human life can be purchased at so slight a cost. But even were the industry itself imperilled, society cannot be interested in the maintenance of industries which must exist at the sacrifice of child life. One enterprising employer, when objecting to the enforcement of child labor laws, complained that such legislation would ultimately force them to install machinery that would do away with the necessity for small boys.

That any inconvenience to the industry from such legislation as we urge might be avoided by a more equitable distribution of wages has frequently been pointed out to both employers and employees in the course of this investigation. Few skilled trades pay better wages than glass blowing, and while the hand work is to-day made precarious by the rapid introduction of machinery, and many glass blowers see their trade vanishing, it is also true that the workers on the new machines are paid wages that are large as compared with wages in other forms of manual labor. When one suggests that glass blowers and finishers might be willing to have their wages slightly reduced with the understanding that the difference shall be made up to older helpers taking the places of the small boys, the suggestion is always laughed out of court—whether made to proprietor or workmen. To watch men working for $4 to $10 a day, aided by little boys who earn from 65 cents to $1.10 a day for "boys' work," although working the same number of hours and subjected to the same intense heat, whether in union or non-union shops, forces the doubt whether labor is always entirely serious in its protest against the employment of little children. It is not to be understood that such a policy of wage reduction for skilled labor is here advocated. It is probable that, under present industrial conditions in which labor stands always offering itself for sale in the open market, wages are rarely if ever higher than the service warrants. It is only suggested that, with child labor in the glass industry standing a confessed menace to society—a fact well known by employer and employee alike—and with a disparity in wages between the skilled man and the boy which appears unjustified by the amount of service rendered, some amicable adjustment should be reached

between the rival forces that would put an end to the sacrifice of the child in the interest of either party. The responsibility will be revealed by proper legislation. If only the greed of the manufacturer deters him from paying wages adequate to reward men and larger boys, self-interest will force him to this when little children can no longer be employed. But if the total amount paid in wages is all that the industry warrants, and the wages of skilled workers are out of all proportion to those paid the children, then the genuineness of labor's protest will be put to the test. We do not here profess to know whether the sacrifice should be made by the employer or the employee. Regardless of the effect on prices, or wages, or the fortunes of particular plants, or the struggle between the hand-working and the machine operating factories, or the strife which exists to-day between the union and the open shops—the public is interested only to see that glass—that most wonderful and beautiful of our manufactured products, the symbol and conveyer of light, the highest instrument in the hands of sanitary science and the healing art—shall be made without bearing beneath its polished surface the lives of little children who have been burned into its glittering substance.

THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM—A STUDY IN DEGENERACY[1]

By A. J. McKelway,
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It is my purpose to draw a parallel, not to make a prophecy. The parallel, however, is so striking, the conditions of the child labor problem in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in some of our American States at the beginning of the twentieth so like, that the foreseeing of the same result is inevitable, even while we pray, *Utinam vates falsus sim.* May this association, with its scientific study of the problem and its fearless setting forth of truth discovered, be one of the forces in our American life that shall work a timely change in those conditions here. Certainly there is no more pressing subject of consideration for patriot or philanthropist than the welfare of the coming race. As President Roosevelt said to our committee only last month, political questions like the tariff or the currency are insignificant, in comparison with a social problem like this. The life is more than meat and the body than raiment. Certainly there could befall a people no greater catastrophe than race degeneracy. It is sufficient to say here that this catastrophe is not only threatening but already impending.

In drawing the parallel between conditions in England and America, I shall confine my attention mainly to the Southern States, and for these reasons: As a Southern man I am more familiar with Southern conditions by personal investigation; the field of work assigned me is the South; in the manufacturing States of the North and East the legislative problem has been largely solved, and there remains only the problem of the adequate enforcement of the law; the industry which was chiefly cursed by child labor in England is the characteristic and commanding industry of the South, the manufacture of cotton; and the northern problem differs from the southern in being chiefly a foreign problem. It is the children of the French Canadian and the Portuguese and the Greek that

[1]Paper Read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans, January 1, 1906.

demand protection in New England, the children of the Italian and the Slav in Pennsylvania. No child of American parentage has yet been found at work in the sweatshops of New York city. Where there is opportunity for making manhood wages, the typical American sends his child to the school and not to the mill. But while it is a grievous thing to consider that the good fortune of the immigrant's family is offset by the misfortune of the child, who is kept from too early toil by the humane laws of the Old World States, while child labor in the North and East prevents that transformation into American citizens that is effected by the American public schools, yet in the South it is especially an American problem, for it is concerned with the depreciation of the purest American stock on the continent. And this gives us another point of comparison between England and the South, namely the similarity of the racial stock. The little children who were fed into the capacious maw of the Manchester cotton mills were English. The little child slaves of our southern cotton mills to-day are of the same breed. And without going into the sphere of rhetoric, it may be said that at this hour of the world's history it is still the dominant race, the race of victorious achievement in war and in peace, unconquerable save when pitted against itself, as at Kings Mountain or New Orleans or Gettysburg. (It is a race whose integrity must be preserved as the only safeguard of the national greatness) And it is because I plead to-day for the children of those who met the British at Kings Mountain, who followed Andrew Jackson to New Orleans, who fought on both sides at Chicamauga, that I am in such deadly earnest. We must save these children for their country. We must protect them from the consequences of untimely toil, the sapping of physical vitality, the marring of the mind and the spoiling of the spirit that come with the denial of the rights of childhood. We must train these children and those that are to come after them for their country's service. So only shall we win the enduring victories of peace and

"So shall we bide sure-guarded,
When the restless lightnings wake,
In the womb of the blotting war-cloud,
And the pallid nations shake."

We have a hundred years of legislative history in England as our warning that we must hasten to protect our children here.

Hutchins & Harrison have recently published a "History of Factory Legislation," to which I am largely indebted in the preparation of this paper. The first of the Factory acts in England was passed in 1802. But that followed a period of ineffective protest against the evil. The attitude of the eighteenth century towards the employment of children was one of self-laudation, that for the first time in the history of the world the child was no longer an encumbrance but an asset. Defoe and other writers were filled with enthusiasm that children of tenderest years could be profitably employed and a district in which "scarce anything of five years old" but could earn its living was regarded as an ideal state of society. And yet in the twentieth century children of four and five years have been found at work in New York city in the artificial flower trade in the home that poverty had turned into a workshop. In an account of the workhouses of England, written in 1732, the writer considered the picking of oakum as an ideally healthful pursuit for children. "They that pick oakum," he says, "are continually refreshed by the balsamic odour of it; the spinners and knitters, with an exercise so moderate that it fits any age or sex, at the same time that it qualifies those that are young for most handicrafts." Children were set to work in the spinning rooms soon after they were five years old. But this is also a pleasing modern sentiment. The cotton mill, with its twelve-hour day, or its twelve-hour night, the room filled with flying lint, trying to adult lungs, is held up as a sort of paradise for children and ignorant parents are to-day enticed from the farms with the idea that the children that are too young for farm work can be employed at the light and even delightful labor of the mills, wet weather and dry, hot weather and cold. Constant employment was once regarded as the wisest philanthropy, on the naive theory that "being constantly employed at least twelve hours a day . . . we hope the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them." Though the mercenary was also then a little mixed with the philanthropic by the well-founded belief that "from children thus trained up to constant labour we may venture to hope the lowering of the price." That is from an Essay on Trade published in 1770.

It should be said, however, that the children here spoken of were pauper children, which were already a "problem." The sturdy

farmers of England had not as yet learned to sentence their own flesh and blood to hard labor from early childhood. But a committee from the House of Commons in 1767 collected such appalling figures of mortality among the parish children that an appropriation was made for their care, though they were still apprenticed as soon as possible. In 1784 came the memorable protest of the Manchester physicians, with Dr. Percival as spokesman. They had investigated a fever epidemic at the Radcliffe cotton works, and while they professed ignorance of its cause, they said: "But though this point remains doubtful, we are decided in our opinion that the disorder has been supported, diffused and aggravated by the ready communication of contagion . . . and by the injury done to young persons through confinement and too long-continued labor, to which several evils the cotton mills have given occasion. We earnestly recommend a longer recess at noon and a more early dismission from it in the evening, to all those who work in the cotton mills; but we deem this indulgence essential to the present health and future capacity for labor for those who are under the age of fourteen; for the active recreations of childhood and youth are necessary to the growth and right conformation of the human body. And we cannot excuse ourselves on the present occasion from suggesting . . . . this further very important consideration, that the rising generation should not be debarred from all opportunities of instruction at the only season in life at which they can be properly improved." Thereupon the Manchester magistrates refused to allow "indentures of parish apprentices whereby they shall be bound to owners of cotton mills and other works in which children are obliged to work in the night or more than ten hours a day."

And yet we here in free America of the twentieth century allow by law children of twelve years to work twelve hours a day for five days in the week, sixty-six hours being the full week's work, and Georgia, one of the chief manufacturing States of the South, has no legal protection of the children from night work, or from being employed at the earliest age when their little hands could be of use. Only last month a child of seven years and nine months had its fingers cut off in a Georgia mill.

These same Manchester physicians, now constituted into a Board of Health, in 1796 passed the following resolutions, among others:

"The large factories are generally injurious to the constitution of those employed in them, from the close confinement which is enjoined, from the debilitating effects of hot or impure air, and from the want of the active exercises which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth to invigorate the system, and to fit our species for the employments and for the duties of manhood. The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children, not only tend to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring.

"From the excellent regulations that subsist in several cotton factories, it appears that many of these evils may be in a considerable degree obviated; we are therefore warranted by experience, and are assured we shall have the support of the liberal proprietors of these factories, in proposing an application for parliamentary aid to establish a general system of laws for the wise, humane and equal government of all such works."

In 1801 a man named Jouvaux was sentenced to twelve months of hard labor himself as a punishment for overworking his young apprentices, and Judge Grose went on to say, in the opinion delivered, "If the manufacturers insist that without these children they could not advantageously follow their trade, he should say that trade must not, for the sake of filthy lucre, be followed, but at once, for the sake of society, be abandoned." It is still the pauper children that are the object of concern. In the following year, 1802, the first factory act was passed, limiting working hours to twelve a day, forbidding night work, providing for the instruction of the apprentices in reading, writing and arithmetic, and providing for systematic factory inspection. It is a disagreeable fact to state, but it must be confessed that this first attempt at remedial legislation for the protection of working children, more than a hundred years ago, is to-day ahead of the laws of the manufacturing States of the South in the matter of night work, of requiring educational facilities and in providing for factory inspection. The bill passed almost without opposition, but an amendment extending its provisions to all

manufactories and the persons employed in them was defeated, the distinction being drawn between apprentice labor and free labor.

It may be interjected here that there is still a sentiment against any interference by the State in behalf of the toiling children who are not fortunate enough to be paupers. But the act was ineffective, and soon the parish apprentice question became unimportant. The invention of the cotton gin in America and the application of steam power to machinery ushered in an era of immense development in manufacturing comparable only to the expansion of the manufacturing industries of the South in the last two decades. And now the manufacturer becomes an important personage, with whose business Parliaments and courts are reluctant to interfere. The history of English legislation for the first half of the nineteenth century is a dreary round of slow and ineffective experiment, with swift and effective evasion of the laws. Spencer Walpole says that it took twenty-five years of legislation to restrict a child of nine years to a sixty-nine hour week. It only took twenty years' experience with the cotton mills on a large scale in three or four Southern States to enact an age limit of twelve and a sixty-six hour week. Yet that limit is lowered to ten by the exceptions made in some States, so that we are not much farther along than the English act of 1819 that made a nine-year age limit and forbade any child under sixteen to work more than twelve hours a day. Robert Owen's long fight for legislation deserves to be remembered and the objections made show that errors are as old as their corresponding truths. He was asked if there would not be danger of the children's acquiring vicious habits for want of regular occupation. He replied that "their habits have been good in proportion to the extent of their instruction." We are familiar with the modern proposition that the cotton mill is a reformatory and that our boasted civilization is after all so rotten as to require the sentencing of a ten-year-old child to hard labor in the mill to keep it out of mischief. Yet the statistics taken in Pennsylvania show that the army of tramps and criminals is being recruited constantly and mainly from the ranks of the children whose lives have been embittered by too early toil.

Owen says: "The first plea of the objectors to my bill was that masters ought not to be interfered with by the legislature in any way in the management of their business. The next attempt was

to prove that it was not injurious to employ these young children fourteen or fifteen hours a day, in over-heated, close rooms, filled often with the fine flying fiber of the material used, particularly in cotton and flax spinning mills. Sir Robert Peel most unwisely consented to a committee being appointed to investigate this question, and this committee was continued for two sessions of Parliament before these wise and honest men, legislating for the nation, could decide that "such practices were detrimental to the health of these infants." Owen was himself a manufacturer, as was Sir Robert Peel, but his bill was amended in such important particulars as the requiring documentary proof of age. The testimony regarding the necessity for this bill is interesting. Owen said that children were employed commonly at five or six. Thomas Wilkinson thought that half the employees were under sixteen. The United States census for 1900 gives only twenty-five per cent. of the operatives in Southern cotton mills as under sixteen, though the percentage has probably increased since. In 1835, in England, it was found that 26 per cent. were still under eighteen. George Gould called attention to the low rate of wages for the adult laborer from the competition of the child laborer. And two of the doctors called before the committee gave evidence that they had been suborned to testify as to the innocuousness of working young children under nine fifteen hours a day. But only last year, in North Carolina, the testimony of two doctors was introduced to show that there was no need, from a hygienic point of view, for a law forbidding young girls under fourteen to stand at their work for twelve hours a day or for boys or girls under fourteen to work a twelve-hour night. There is nothing new under the sun and there is nothing true but heaven. There was another assumption that prevailed then, and continues even in democratic America, that the manual working people are a lower class, an order apart, to whom the ordinary rules even of humanity cannot apply. And then there was the argument that was dubbed "Manchesterism," a favorite principle of the politcal economists of that day, who were all against what we might call social legislation. It was that things were not so bad after all, and that the tendency was to right themselves through the ordinary laws of the business world.

The act of 1825 forbade children under sixteen working more

than twelve hours a day, and the act of 1831 extended this to children under eighteen. There was great difficulty in obtaining proof of the violations of the law, and factory operatives were blacklisted if they appeared as informers, something that was done in Georgia two years ago, the parents of children who had been brought before the Legislative Committee being dismissed from the mills. But the act of 1833 created factory inspectors and forbade night work for children under eighteen in any textile mills, except the silk mills, and restricted children under thirteen to forty-eight hours a week. Then began the long agitation for the ten-hour day, in the course of which Lord Ashley, the children's champion, was defeated by Lord Macaulay, who himself afterwards became a powerful advocate of the children's rights. Oastler, the author of "Yorkshire Slavery," was thrown into prison for conscience sake during this agitation, and his language was bitterly resented by the manufacturers. Mr. Samuel Townsend argues that "the occupation of the children is far from laborious, and consists chiefly in the quickness and attention given to the machine, allowing them abundant time to take refreshment during mill hours. I am convinced that the present method of bringing children forward to useful employment is far from being the 'horrid slavery of the worsted mills' (as Oastler had called it) that it is rendered a comfort by the regular hours of rising from and retiring to bed; and the most systematic regulation by which refreshments are brought to them." It may be interjected that it had already been admitted that the hours in the worsted mills were thirteen a day, and one great trouble was that the children were compelled to take part or all of the meal hour in cleaning the machinery. A significant statement is made about this time that "the labour in the mill is, strictly speaking, family labor, and that there is no longer the system of a parent maintaining his children by the operation of his own industry." That is the statement of an economic law, that in the occupations which admit of the wholesale employment of children, the whole family can make only as much wages as pater familias can in the trades that exclude children from employment.

The act of 1844 defined night work for women and children as the period between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m., and night work was forbidden. Birth registration had been made obligatory in 1837, and in this

matter our Southern States are behind. The act of 1844 was reconsidered, but passed again in 1847. This was followed by the definition of a normal day, to prevent the relay system, under which the operatives not protected by law were sometimes obliged to work fifteen hours a day, while the children were shifted about from one part of the factory to another. The difficulties of administration were great. There were forged certificates then, as now, and false swearing. A boy made quite a financial success by getting examined by different doctors and selling his certificates to other boys. Certificates were granted by dentists and cow doctors. But the principle had been established of the right of the State to interfere for its own sake as well as for the sake of the child. It was argued by Lord Macaulay, and his argument was prophecy, that "intense labor, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities that have made our country great. Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny; nor will it be long before the deterioration of the laborer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral interests have been sacrificed. If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and in mind."

Lord Shaftesbury made the remark once that the child labor evil had spread from the cotton mills into other industries. The period between 1845 and 1861 was largely occupied with the inclusion of these other industries, one by one, within the law that had applied only to the cotton factories. The evil was found to be a hideous one in the print works, dyeing works, and bleaching establishments, and existed in lace works, pillow making, pottery trades, "each successive generation of potters becomes more dwarfed and less robust than the preceding one." The making of lucifer matches was especially hard upon the little folks, and children of four and five years were found in the straw-plaiting establishments. In 1862 there were employed some 120,000 operatives in the hosiery trades, much of the work being done by infant children in the homes, mothers pinning the little ones to their knees while at work to prevent their falling when going to sleep. In the hardware establishments of Birming-

ham, England, as late as 1864, 2,000 children under ten were found, half of these under eight. Then the act of 1867 extended to the hitherto unregulated industries. In 1874 the age limit was raised to ten for factories. But it was not until Booth's book on "Life and Labour in London" appeared that the act of 1891 was passed, extending the law to the sweat-shops. And the factory inspectors were too few for the additional tasks laid upon them by these extensions of the law. The act of 1895 fixed the hours at which a child should be employed at thirty a week, though allowing still twelve hours a day. But amendments as late as 1901 show that the laws are still imperfect. Some of our American States are already in advance of England after a century of legislation.

I have spoken of the half-time system. For the last fifty years the child has been allowed to go into the mill for half a day and then required to go to school the other half. This has been the cultivation of the mind at the expense of the physical man, and in its effects upon the constitution is hardly preferable to the long hours of the mill. Recently the Massachusetts law, requiring the illiterate child over fourteen to go to night school while working by day, until he could read and write, has been repealed, and the more merciful law substituted of forbidding any child under sixteen to work unless he can read and write. And now it would seem that we might expect some bad results from this hundred years of the exploitation of the children as laborers in what was once "Merrie England." The awakening came too late for England's comfort when, for the first time since the Crimean War, she engaged in conflict with a civilized people. Have you thought of the real reason for the impotence of that mighty nation when contending with a handful of South African farmers? We have heard the prophecy of the Manchester physicians, of Lord Macaulay, concerning the threatened degeneracy of the race. Let us see the fulfillment of prophecy.

Says John Dennis, in a magazine article during the current year:[1] "In the silent revolution that followed the abolishing of the Corn Laws, agriculture, which had been the backbone of English character and English strength, withered away. Vast areas devoted to the growing of wheat became hunting fields. The stout yeomanry, their country's pride, ceased to exist. England turned from agri-

1 Everybody's Magazine, February, 1905, Article, "Hooligan."

culture to manufacturing; the country and the country town and the village began to dry up and a steady stream of indigent men and women poured into the great cities. . . .

The blow that the wise men had foreseen fell with the Boer War. In a day, as it seemed, the nation awoke to the fact that its physical vigor was sapped. It had no material for soldiers. The percentage of rejections at the enlistment stations appalled every reflective mind. The standards were lowered, the tests were made easy; the rejections continued to be most alarming. Regiments were patched together of boys and anemic youths. They were food for hospitals, not for powder. Once in South Africa enteric swept them off like flies; they were only the shells of men. There were other things equally disturbing. Men gathered from the dispatches that, as a matter of fact, the war was fought on the British side by the Colonials, Irish and Scotch. . . . There have been hints of worse revelations. A London newspaper asserted that of 11,000 men examined in Manchester, nearly 10,000 were rejected. . . . And the English people had always trusted so implicitly in their traditional physical stamina. And meanwhile, a change, tremendous, but unnoted, had gone on in the habits and stamina and physical type of that class of men that must ever make the rank and file of armies. The men that faced the Malakoff and stormed Sebastopol were no more. . . . When the typical Englishman of the class that went to war—the John Bull of tradition—was broad-shouldered and deep-chested, a ruddy-cheeked giant, then the brawn and endurance of the Englishman were a proverb. Against him Hooligan, anemic, neurotic, emaciated, too often degenerate, dull of wit and feeble of will, showed like a figure of fright. In 1903 in London, not fewer than 200,000 people are without anything that by any stretch of the imagination they can call home.

Dr. Robert Jones, an eminent London physician, wrote to the *Times* that not only was insanity among the masses constantly increasing, but it tended to assume worse forms, and that in 1,000 consecutive male cases between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five the average weight and stature were so far below the normal that he concluded that there was "an alarming impairment in national physique." Dr. Robert Farquson, another eminent physician, certified to the truth of these conclusions and told worse things. The

president of a Manchester Improvement Association testified that there were large districts in Manchester in which there were "no well-grown children or men or women except those who have been born in the country." What was it that the Manchester physicians foretold in 1784? "The untimely labour of the night and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children, tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation." What was it that Lord Macaulay, in 1846, prophesied? "Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny. Nor will it be long before the deterioration of the labourer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral energies have been sacrificed. If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind." That people is the German nation. And Germany is to-day pushing England to the wall in commercial competition and winning the enduring victories of peace.

Nor is that all. The cotton milling industry, which was first attacked for its horrible cruelty to young children and first had its evils corrected, legislation being long confined to the cotton mills, is the one bright spot to-day in English manufacturing life. Says a recent authority: "In spite of keenest foreign competition, the Lancashire cotton mill, in point of technical efficiency, now leads the world, and the Lancashire cotton spinner, once in the lowest depths of social degradation, now occupies, as regards the general standard of life as a whole trade, perhaps the foremost position among English wage-earners." The expansion of the industry in recent years is measured by the millions of spindles. Surely, if England, with her handicaps of distance from the cotton fields and the rising price of fuel, can thus make this industry, so long cursed with child labor and low wages, the foremost one as regards the condition of the wage-earner, the South should be able to do the same thing with her incalculable advantages over England or any other part of the world.

Once more, who are ruling England to-day? Take the new Cabinet. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is a Scotchman, as was Mr. Balfour, and as was Mr. Gladstone. Lord Elgin is a Scotchman.

Mr. Haldane is a Scotchman. James Bryce is an Irishman. Herbert Gladstone is a Scotchman's son. Sir Robert Reid is a Scot. John Burns is a Scot. Lord Tweedmouth is a Scot. David Lloyd-George is a Welshman. Who knows what unknown Cromwells have had their genius stifled in the atmosphere of the English mill? Scotch fathers sent their children to school while the English parent reversed the law of nature and of Scripture by allowing the child to work for him. And now Scotland rules the destinies of the British Empire.

And no one can pick up an English paper or read an English magazine without seeing something about the great and increasing army of the unemployed. Dr. S. M. Lindsay, secretary of our Child Labor Committee, made an investigation of conditions in England this past summer. And his testimony is that the unemployed are not those who will not work, but who are unable to meet the sharper conditions of modern manufacturing life, and that it is not the absence of work to be done, but that they cannot do the work that is required. In brief, they are "ineffectives."

So much for race degeneracy progressing for a hundred years in England to its dire culmination. But it is beginning already in the South. Just a few facts that are matters of common knowledge. There has already been developed in our cotton manufacturing communities a "factory type" easily recognizable, the children distinguished by their pallor and a certain sallowness of complexion. Early employment tends to independence of parental restraint. The breadwinner becomes a man too soon, and early marriages are the rule. There are widows in Georgia fourteen years of age. The wife and mother continues her work in the mill, since the wage of the husband is not enough for the support of the family. What must be the children born of such unions and their children? Diseases of the throat and lungs are common, and also diseases peculiar to women brought on by employment long continued at the critical period of a young girl's life. It was a true saying of John Ruskin, "It is a shame for a nation to make its young girls weary." The demand for the labor of children precludes their obtaining an education. The mill owners often build school houses, and the mill superintendents empty them of the children. Thus, without education of the mind, the training of the hand will not win promotion even in the cot-

ton mill for the unfortunate illiterate. The cotton mill village is generally isolated, and the operatives separate themselves from others, and often the church is as little able to get hold of them as the school. The mountains are being depopulated by the agents of the mills. I know of one little village railroad station in Western North Carolina whence fifteen hundred people went last year to the mills. And the growth of the industry indicates the alarming increase in the number of children that are employed. The Blue Book for 1904, already antiquated, shows that there are 238,000 operatives employed, instead of the 100,000 reported in the census of 1900. The president of the American Cotton Manufacturing Association declares that in North Carolina seventy-five per cent. of the spinners are fourteen or under fourteen. His predecessor in office says that only thirty per cent. of all the operatives are adults. Considering the percentage of child to adult labor as set forth in the last census, twenty-five per cent. for the South, there must be 60,000 children under sixteen in the Southern mills. But considering the imperfections of that census in this respect, considering the doubling of the number of operatives in many mills through the larger amount of night work now done under present prosperous conditions, considering the new mills in operation this year, there must be a quarter of a million of operatives now, and it is my calculation that there are 60,000 under fourteen, which is the age limit of most of our manufacturing States in America. Virginia and the two Carolinas and Alabama have an age limit of twelve. But the want of factory inspection precludes any enforcement of the law, even as it now stands, while Georgia has no child labor law, being the last of the manufacturing States of either Europe or America that has failed to adopt one. It is estimated that the number of spindles, and thus the number of operatives, and thus the number of children employed, will be doubled in the next five years.

But the National Committee has been organized in behalf of the children, and State committees are co-operating with it, and the pulpit and the press of the South are all but unanimous for protecting the children by law. Public sentiment is being aroused in no uncertain fashion, and the wrath of the people is being invoked

against our modern Herods who have sought the young child's life and are indifferent to the slaughter of the innocents.

When, during the Napoleonic wars, the manufacturers, suffering from the withdrawal of their employees into the ranks of the British armies, went to the younger Pitt with their complaint, he said to them, "Take the children." When it was proposed to the President of the Confederate States to lower the age limit for the enlistment of soldiers for the Confederate armies, he said: "We must not grind the seed corn." The little children of the South, with their heritage of heroic blood, untainted and pure, are the hope of the South and may yet prove to have been the hope of the nation as well. They are more precious than the dollars that can be coined by the sacrifice of their childhood, by the denial of childhood's right to play and to dream, of childhood's opportunity to learn. The child is the harbinger of the Golden Age that is to be. We must not crush his spirit with manhood's toil. The measure of the triumphs of the race that is to be is what we can accomplish for the child that is, for his protection, for his training, for his development physically, mentally, spiritually.

And it seems to me that the manufacturers of America should be the last to raise objection to the interference of the State in behalf of the child, seeing that the State has interfered in behalf of their profits. Tariff controversies aside, it is certain that the tariff benefits primarily the manufacturer. If then he demands protection by law against foreign competition, how can he claim that the State has no right to protect the life and health and morals of its future citizenship? How can he hold the position of claiming the right of "protection to infant industries and the exploitation of infant industry." The American people have dealt generously with their manufacturers. Let the manufacturers be no less generous with their country in this vital matter of preserving the integrity of the race.

Certainly they should beware of forcing upon the American people, for final action, the alternative mentioned in Judge Grose's opinion, already quoted. "If the manufacturers insist that without these children they could not advantageously follow their trade, he should say that trade must not, for the sake of filthy lucre, be followed, but at once for the sake of society be abandoned."

THE OPERATION OF THE ILLINOIS CHILD LABOR LAW[1]

By Jane Addams.
Hull House, Chicago.

It is very gratifying to state the situation for Illinois. For while in the nation as a whole child labor is growing,—that is, we are having each year in America more children at work than was true of the previous,—we are able to say that that statement is not true of Illinois. There has been a decided decrease in Illinois in the number of children at work during the last four years. Notwithstanding the annual increase in the population, and in spite of the fact that our manufactures are increasing, we have a very decided decrease in the number of children working both actually and proportionately. In 1901, in proportion to the total number of workers the child workers in Illinois was 4.1 per cent.; in 1902 it was 3.7 per cent., and in 1903 it was 2.9 per cent., and in 1904 it was 1.9 per cent., so you see they are steadily and rapidly decreasing.

Mr. Davies, the State Factory Inspector, who has attended the various conventions, says that this is the lowest number of children in proportion to the adult working population of any State in the Union. And if we take this statement in connection with the other statement that we have heard here, that Illinois is the third manufacturing State in the Union, we have reason to be proud of our showing, and we are proud to have the Governor preside at a meeting when we can make such a good report to him for his State.

Another interesting development in regard to Illinois comes in connection with the educational test provided in our child labor law, for while it is difficult to have any practical statistics on child labor, some of the things happening in Illinois since the new child labor law went into effect are most significant. Our law requires not only an educational test, but it provides a place in which it shall be made, and this test for all the public and parochial schools of Chicago being made in one place, enables us to know how many children receive the certificates each year, and something more about

[1]Address at the Chicago session of the 2d Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Dec. 16, 1905

them. The total number of children who have received certificates in the last three years for the Chicago office has been 26,886. Out of that number we know they can all read and write something. I am sorry to say that they cannot all read and write English, but they can read and write some language, and the large majority of them, of course, read and write English. We have the satisfaction of knowing that of the nearly 27,000 children who have gone to work in Illinois in the past four years, they have all passed the literacy test. They have, further, all been weighed and measured, which may be an inaccurate test, but it affords, at any rate, a guaranty outside of the parents' word that they have attained an average height and age. That is something to know. For a long time we did not know how many children were at work, how much they knew, nor of what size they were—whether they were big enough for the age of fourteen years or only big enough for the age of ten.

The increased attendance in the schools has been very marked since this law has been enforced. If the parents are once thoroughly convinced—and the illiterate parents, most of all—that a child cannot go out and earn money until he can read and write, of course they will see to it that their children learn to read and write as quickly as possible. We have taken some statistics from a school in the stock yards district, and the increase in the attendance in the fourth and fifth grades is very marked. The attendance in one school in the fifth grade for the year before the law went into effect averaged 53, in the year after the law had been put into effect in the fifth grade in the same school it averaged 159 pupils. Allowing something for the natural increase in population, it would still leave a very large proportion, which was to be accounted for only by the enforcement of the new law. And this educational test is resulting in good in other ways: it is slowly remedying one of the worst evils of immigration. It has been the custom for many years for immigrants already settled here to bring over boys and girls who were but remotely related to them and too young to protect themselves, in order to exploit them. They took all their wages in return for scanty food and shelter, but now that these children must learn to read and write before they can go to work, it is no longer profitable to have them sent over, and I assure you there is a very marked decrease in this enforced immigration in those States in which the educational provision is rigidly enforced.

The child labor law is, further, having a marked influence upon the immigrant as he slowly learns that a child cannot go to work until he has reached a certain physical and mental well-being, that there is a standard in American life, and it seems to some of us that all these things afford a much better way for new people to learn about America than that they should merely be able to repeat the Constitution of the United States.

I want to say just a word in regard to the dangers surrounding our new child labor law. We, too, have had our long continued trouble with the glass workers. I suppose legislation in regard to child labor has never been attempted but what its friends at the legislature have encountered the lobbyists from the glass works. We have been told that all the glass works will move out of the State of Illinois if we have a rigid child labor law, and yet each year we find that the glass works have extended and improved their plants, and that at least two firms have moved into the State since this law has been enacted and enforced. So that we no longer fear them, but there is a feature of the child labor law in Illinois that is at present sustaining sharp attack from the theatrical people, and it is just here where pubilc opinion may be of great value. If a child under sixteen years is allowed to play in any theater after seven o'clock the law is violated, and to make any exception to the law is most dangerous. Just imagine an honest farmer at the next session of the legislature saying, "You make an exception for the people in Chicago, you allow the children to play in the theaters at night, but you won't allow a boy to make an honest living in the glass works." One can easily see that the entire law would be weakened. Two cases of the infraction of the law by theatrical people are now awaiting decision in the Superior Court of Illinois, and another case has been indicted before the grand jury, and we will have to wait for the judge's opinion as to the application of the law to theaters. But in the meantime it will make a great difference if when this law is broken at the theatrical performances the public would protest and declare that it attended the theater to see the art of acting and not the exploitation of children. We like to see a child on the stage because it moves our sympathies and touches our sensibilities; we say that it is true to life, and we think that we like acting of that kind, when, on the contrary, it is the lack of acting

which we like, the touch of reality which the child brings to the stage. But it is hardly legitimate to keep children on the stage so that they may appeal to our sensibilities any more than it would be fair to keep the same little children begging on the street because in that way they arouse adult generosity, or as the old-fashioned circus-goer liked to see the lady put her head into the lion's mouth and gasped, waiting for something dreadful to happen. But if we really believe that acting is an art requiring preparation and a careful training, if we respect the stage sufficiently to demand artistic ability and not mere emotionalism, then we will refuse to have our sensibilities appealed to by little children on the stage. And here we see the need for national legislation in regard to children. Eighty-five per cent. of the children on the stage—the theatrical people say ninety-two per cent. of the children on the stage—in America are supplied in New York. The New York law permits these children to go on the stage after they have been examined by a certain children's society there. This is in accordance with the New York law, but when they reach Chicago we have to deal with them according to the Illinois law. I wish very much that we all may try to arouse some sentiment against this exploitation of children on the stage. Here is where the consumer is touched very directly. When we buy a glass bottle which we think may have been made by a child we are not quite certain about it, and it is at best remote. But going to a theater and looking at a little child and encouraging that sort of thing because it arouses a sickly sort of sentiment, is certainly to induce the managers to continue it. It would be very easy to say to the managers of the theater, "We came here to see the legitimate drama." Mr. Daly and other clever managers insist that there is no play requiring children which cannot be better done by grown people taking the children's parts. One cannot imagine Henry Irving putting children upon the stage; it would have hurt his artistic ideas of what a play ought to be. Let us see if we cannot put aside this emotionalism and stand by the child labor law from the side of art as well as of humanity. It is easy to discuss the wrongs in the South and to agitate for laws affecting manufacturers, but here in Chicago where in relation to the theaters the law touches us directly we are in sympathy with the law, and here is an opportunity to aid in its enforcement, and I hope that we will all endeavor to do our share.

CHILD LABOR A NATIONAL PROBLEM

By Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.,
Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The evils of child labor cannot well be exaggerated. Neither can they be quantitatively measured with any precision. I would like to have accurate statistics of child labor in the United States, which we have not got so far, but it makes comparatively little difference whether a million and a half or two million and a half children of tender years are at work. It is fundamentally wrong, it is a contradiction of the basic principles of this free republic that upon the shoulders of any child who has not attained its full, mature, physical development, who has not enjoyed a reasonable time in which to play, and who has not received an elementary English education, there should be put the smallest fraction of the burdens of our modern competitive industrial life. Viewed in the light of our advancing civilization and its greater opportunity for growth and human service, and also its greater demands for preparation for lives of highest usefulness, I say again, the evils of child labor cannot well be exaggerated. Dr. Felix Adler, the chairman of our National Committee, has truly said that these evils are increasing. The demand for cheap labor, which so often means infant labor, increases with the growth of competition for markets and the consequent desire to sell goods more cheaply. The demand for such labor as children can perform increases often with the progress of inventions and mechanical devices. Not long ago I had my attention called to the advertisement of a manufacturer of mill machinery, and one of the attractions of his machines was that they were adapted to the use of very small children. When we go down South we are told by prominent manufacturers that they cannot get along without children in their mills because the machines cannot very well be operated by adults. These are some of the arguments that we meet in every State when we ask for legislation to prevent child labor. The

very greed of modern capitalists demands the labor of the child in order that they may have the largest profits. Likewise the greed of incapable, ignorant and avaricious parents and the indifference of others demands the right to put the child to work in order that they be relieved of responsibility for his education and control, and may live off the pennies the child can earn. How blind even the natural parent may be when he sees in his child a possibility of profit, is seen when he is willing to sacrifice the future of his child without any thought of the to-morrow when the child will be a man and should be fit to bear his share of the work of the world.

Our standards of living, our tests of efficiency and of industrial fitness as well as our educational opportunities have increased at a rapid rate in the last few years. So much greater, therefore is the wrong that is done to the children who are deprived of even the ordinary opportunities to prepare for the greater demands of the future when they reach the years of adult life. Child labor in America means that as a nation we are deliberately breeding social inequality and striking at the roots of democracy. Ostrich fashion, we only bury our heads in the sands of the temporary excuses—that of industrial necessity, or the poverty of parents, or the absurd fallacy that we are giving an industrial education to the child worker—when we refuse to look squarely in the face the inevitable consequences of our madness and our racial folly.

The problem which the gainful employment of two million children under sixteen years of age to-day presents to the American people is a national problem of the first magnitude. It has to do primarily with a question of race development. What these two million children are now and will be twenty years hence raises questions which are fundamental for the welfare of the human stock and for the happiness of this land of ours. Industrial processes like the processes of nature have what the biologists call "selective values." They weed out the unfit and incompetent workers and segregate them into the slums of our large cities where society must bear the burden and pay the cost. I know of no better illustration of this selective aggregation of the industrially worn-out than is presented by the great problem of the unemployed in London to-day. While in England last summer I was surprised to hear from the lips of members of Parliament, who were not given to exaggeration, that there

were from eight hundred thousand to one million persons, many of them able-bodied men, out of work at a season of the year when employment is usually abundant. It was said that a very large number of them were simply inefficient, unfit for any industrial work under the demands of modern industry. What chapters of English history do you recall when you are told that in the city of London thousands of men, women and children are segregated in East London, living in dire poverty and distress, because they do not possess the physical vitality or intellectual capacity to perform the kind of labor demanded in modern society. A very shrewd journalist who knew probably little about the theories of race development, said:

"There has been evolved in London a race distinct, unlike any other race in the British Islands, with strongly marked characteristics, with alien features and habits. It is a race stunted in size, sallow complexioned, dark haired. Its moral sense is blunted, its mentality is low. It has even evolved a speech of its own."

In a few sharp sentences this journalist has drawn for us a picture of what the neglect and non-development of children in the past means for the British people to-day. If that picture allows any reasonable doubt concerning the causes of physical deterioration in England about which the whole nation was so aroused during the Boer war that a voluminous government report was made on the subject, he who reads the history of England must surely admit that the system of child labor which prevailed for a century has been the one great contributory cause. This is the fate that awaits us also in America in the no distant to-morrow if we fail to grapple with the great problem of child labor in our own country until we have abolished its evils.

Child labor is a national problem, in the second place, because our industrial processes have become national and international. The glass workers of New Jersey oppose any attempt to prohibit the night work of boys under sixteen on the ground that such work is permitted in the neighboring State of Pennsylvania. Some people in Georgia seem to think that they cannot afford to place any restrictions upon their cotton manufacturers, because they are just making a good start in competition with New England and the rest of the world in cotton manufacturing and they want to enjoy every

advantage they possess, even that of killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

And so it goes, from State to State. We have constantly to meet questions arising from interstate competition. Then in other States we have the phenomena of peoples passing from the agricultural to the manufacturing stage of development with all the attendant changes in their social, moral and economic life. States in this transition stage from the simpler communal life of the agriculturist to the more complex and individualistic life of a manufacturing community must be protected from the new dangers which the experience of older States can point out. So again we see the interstate character of our child labor problem. The National Child Labor Committee came into being for the purpose of meeting this situation and helping States that are just beginning to take notice of the evils of child labor by bringing to their attention the results of the neglect of childhood or the wilful misuse of their children in those States that have already paid too high a price for their industrial progress. If we can in any way bring these lessons home so as to influence public opinion in the States that have little or no protection for childhood we may hope for an American standard of protection that shall apply all over this country. Such a standard when attained can be made effective in all our States only when public opinion is uniformly aroused and our captains of industry are told that they may compete with their money, with their brains and ingenuity, and with their machines, but not with human life, least of all with the child's life. Only when a true American standard of protection is thrown around every American child and the opportunities of education and physical development are guaranteed to all alike, to the "carrying-in boys" in the glass houses of New Jersey, to the "breaker boys" in the mines of Pennsylvania, to the "doffers" in the cotton mills in the Carolinas and Georgia, and to the little street traders in our large cities, will the dream of democracy be a reality.

The problem of child labor is a national problem, in the third place, because the responsibility for it rests upon the consumers and purchasers of goods made with the aid of the work of young children, whether the purchaser and consumer lives in a manufacturing State or in an agricultural community, in Georgia or California. With

the extension of our system of manufacturing and the conditions brought about by world markets you and I cannot very well avoid some participation in these evils so long as we are buyers of American made goods; and we cannot more surely or reasonably satisfy our consciences that we are not the oppressors, the real oppressors of these little children until we are satisfied that this American standard of protection reaches out over all the children and through all the industries of our American States. We are then individually and collectively accountable for the American standard or lack of standard of protection of childhood. A national sentiment must, and can be made effective according as the different conditions and problems presented in each State and territory are met and solved in the light of the best legislation and enforcement of child labor laws not the poorest.

The movement to bring this to pass is not without some signs of encouragement. During the past year thirty-nine State legislatures were in session and in fifteen of these the child labor issue was a prominent issue. In twelve of the fifteen States to which reference is made new or amended child labor laws were enacted. Delaware for the first time was removed from that blacklist of States that give the child no protection, and now Georgia stands almost alone in the shame and cruelty indicated by absence of any legislation. In addition to the legislation obtained, new forces to speak for the child have been aroused. Fourteen State Child Labor Committees are now working for better laws and better enforcement. They are composed of representative men and women in all the leading States, and usually contain members who represent the labor unions, the manufacturers, the churches, the women's clubs, the school officials and all the various interests that can be rallied in a reform that differs from any ordinary reform or charity in that it stands for something in which all can unite. Three of these State committees were organized before our national committee came into existence. And this work is going on. During this winter of 1905-06 nineteen State legislatures are in session. It is what politicians call an "off year," but in many of these legislatures, practically for the first time, an effort is being made to have a child labor law enacted that can be really enforced.

In conclusion, let us remember that no child labor law has in

itself any self-acting principle. Such legislation does not enforce itself. Child labor laws need back of them first of all enlightened public opinion, which the humblest citizen of the republic and every citizen may help to create. They need back of them well-trained and efficient public officials who are not controlled by political influence, but who will rigidly enforce the law. Right-minded officials require liberal appropriations for the work. Even greater than these is the responsibility which a child labor law, to be really efficient, to be a real benefit to the community, places upon the educational machinery of the State. Good, compulsory education laws, well enforced, and schools properly equipped to meet the needs of all the classes of the community, schools that will train the hand and eye and mind, that assume responsibility for all the children of the community, inspect their welfare in their homes and provide for intelligent direction of all their activities, are the essential and inevitable consequences of wise child labor legislation. Such schools and such care for the children of the State are the surest guarantees of industrial prosperity, social progress and peace; their absence spells race suicide and national degeneration.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILD LABOR

By Samuel Gompers,
President of the American Federation of Labor.

It should be entirely superfluous for me to say that I am in hearty accord and in full sympathy with the purpose for which the National Child Labor Committee and the various committees throughout the country are organized.

To-day there is no division of opinion relative to the inadvisability and inhumanity of employing children of a young and tender age in gainful occupations. So much at least has been gained. In some sections of the country opposition is still manifested against the movement for the abolition of child labor upon the pretense that the enactment of such a law would be the encouragement of organized labor. I am not prepared to deny that. The abolition of child labor would have an influence to encourage the organization of wage-earners in those industries, but I do think also that it might be submitted to the gentlemen who interpose that as an objection, that in several of the Southern States in order to maintain what is called white supremacy laws have been enacted requiring educational qualifications to entitle the citizens to the suffrage, and it may not be inappropriate to this subject to call attention to the further fact that in the cotton industries of the South the children employed therein are the offspring of white women and white men, and that the black children go to school and receive an education. And, therefore, as a matter of fact, the very purpose of the educational qualification to entitle the citizen to the right of suffrage will inevitably result in the disenfranchisement of the future white citizen and the enfranchisement of the colored.

My honored friend, the Commissioner of Labor, anticipated the very remark I intended to make, and I am proud to be in accord with his judgment that an industry that depends for its success upon the

labor of young and innocent children is not worthy of success and ought to go down.

I am not sure that I gained a correct impression of a statement alleged to have been made here during an earlier session. If the information is incorrect, I should be most pleased to be corrected, for I do not care to proceed under a misapprehension. I have been told that at one of your meetings in this city it has been stated that the organizations of labor are insincere in their advocacy of the abolition of child labor. If anyone entertains any such thought, I desire to say that there is not a provision of law upon the statute books of any State of the Union or the statute books of any of the civilized countries, that has for its purpose the protection of the child and the health of not only children but also women that cannot be traced in some way to the efforts of the much abused organizations of labor.

It is within my recollection that the Hon. Eldridge T. Gerry, of New York, for many years active in the movement for the protection of children, came before the conventions of the Federation of Labor and said that the hope and the mainstay for the inauguration, for the enactment, and for the enforcement of child labor laws rest in the last degree upon the organizations of labor.

If there is anyone who harbors the thought that the organizations of labor are insincere in the effort to have laws passed and enforced for the protection of children, let me quote to you a statement made by a gentleman who presumably was associated with us in the effort to abolish child labor, Dr. A. H. Freiberg, of Cincinnati, president of the Ohio Child Labor Committee, in which he said: "The committee," speaking for his committee, "is not in sympathy with the movement of labor unions for increasing the age at which children may labor from fourteen to sixteen years." He then adds as a comment on it: "It is felt in the committee that the action of the unions is taken purely for the selfish motive of preventing competition and not with the idea of the child's welfare at heart."

I quote the gentleman because he charges the unions of labor with selfishness in the advocacy of the child labor laws in increasing the years to sixteen as against any opinion which may be entertained that the unions are insincere.

You should not infer from that statement that I believe that Dr. Freiberg is accurate in his charge that it is from selfish motives that the unions of labor are favorably disposed towards the abolition

of child labor, but I quoted simply to show that at least, even according to this accusation, we must necessarily be sincere in defense of our own self-interests.

I presume that there are a number of men and women in this city of ours, and in this country of ours, who are altruistic. Thank God that there is a continually growing number of men and women who act from that high purpose. But taking men and women as they are, not here and there, but the accepted view of men and women as they are, I wonder whether all the bankers and all the brokers and all the business men and all the newspaper men and all the companies have all been prompted from purposes of absolutely, purely, ideal altruism. And now as to the insinuations that are made and indulged in that labor men, from the standpoints of their own personal interests, advocate a certain policy, how is it that you find men usually who are engaged in the manufacture of certain products, universally protectionists from the viewpoint of the tariff? And, on the other hand, you will find men who are engaged in commercial pursuits simply, free traders. Is it a physiological influence that brings this about; is it physical? is it climatic? is it providential? or is it not purely selfish interest that prompts them to do or be the one or the other? And yet some people expect that the men who have only their labor power upon which to defend themselves and to support those dependent upon them that they shall govern all their actions from purely altruistic motives and purposes, surrendering everything that they possess.

We are just as good as they are—not better, but I repeat, just as good. From the earliest days of the present industrial era, as it emerged from the days of serfdom, and from the days of the introduction of the factory system, the organizations of labor have advocated the restriction of child labor. There is not a child labor law on the statute books of the United States but has been put there with the co-operation of the trade union movement. In Alabama—I think my memory serves me right—about two years ago, a law was passed, in Tennessee, Texas, and I think in Oregon, too, due entirely to the organized labor movement. I know that in Alabama where some better progress has been made than in Georgia in so far as the conception of such a law is concerned, that the American Federation of Labor sent a lady, not a wage-earner, into Alabama and into Georgia and into Florida and into Tennessee, for

the purpose of bringing about first a better feeling and better judgment and better conception among the people generally in order that a child labor law might be enacted. I know that when I mention the name of the lady you will all agree with me as to her splendid attainments and her faithful and intelligent work, Miss Irene Ashby, now Mrs. Irene Ashby-Macfadyen, and who is now in South Africa with her husband. Permit me to give just two quotations from Miss Ashby's first report which was submitted to me and which was published in our official journal, the *American Federationist*, in 1901:

"Four months ago I accepted a commission from Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to agitate the subject of child labor with the view of getting a law on that subject through the legislature of Alabama. Although I return with the news of present defeat, I believe that my mission has helped to give another blow to that slowly dying cause of building commercial success on the ruin of little children."

At the close of that report she says:

"In resigning my commission on which Mr. Gompers acts, my regret at failure is tempered by the hope that what I have been able to do in concentrating previous interests, collecting facts which have aroused new interests, and in some degree amalgamating different forces, may not be without fruit in the near future, and that this campaign will at least have a share in the formation of another which will put an end forever to this particular blot on American civilization."

The lady tendered her resignation to me, but I am proud to say that I declined to accept it, and commissioned her to persist for several years in the work. And I may add that it was impracticable and inadvisable that Miss Ashby should appear as the representative of organized labor, for the reason that I have tried already indirectly to communicate to you, that the cotton manufacturers oppose the passage of the child labor law upon the pretense that it would encourage the organizations of labor if such a law was passed. It is needless to make any argument before the National Child Labor Committee in favor of the total abolition of child labor. We want to make this country of ours grander and greater and more beautiful than it is. Should anyone ask me, "Do you believe that we are mak-

ing progress?" I would gladly give my assent, and am proud of the progress that we are making, greater than any other country on the face of the globe.

We, organized labor, are glorifying and are glorified in the recognition of the wonderful advance that is being made and has been made. But it is not quite good enough. So long as there is an injustice done to one man, to one woman or to one child that is capable of rectification by us, so long there is work enough for us to do to try and secure the right and justice and a better condition. We want to make all our people not only politically the bright star in the diadem of nations, not only as an inspiration for political freedom, but also for industrial justice. In that work I am sure you will contribute much through the National Child Labor Committee.

There are a number of ladies and gentlemen associated both in the National Committee and in the several localities with whom I have had the honor and pleasure of working and cooperating for very many years. I hope that so long as life shall remain with me that I shall have the pleasure of still working and helping to solve this problem, and then the next problem, and then the next problem, as it shall confront us.

OVERWORK, IDLENESS OR INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION?[1]

By William Noyes, M.A.,
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The great difference between the child labor of other times and civilizations and our own consists in the fact that in more primitive forms of industry the work of children constituted a large part of their education. Since labor was principally done by hand and with the simplest tools, the steps into artisanship were well adapted to child development. In early New England life—to go no further afield—both boys and girls were occupied in a hundred activities whose very variety had an undoubted effect in developing resourcefulness, endurance, alertness, skill and other high qualities of mind and heart. Even if their work was hard, it was also helpful; even if the hours were long, the processes were not so monotonous and irksome as to ruin the child for future usefulness.

To-day, however, labor has been specialized and subdivided into innumerable and infinitesimal operations. Power machines are driving out the handicrafts, and domestic industry has been supplanted by shop and factory methods. Industries are so housed and segregated that it is possible neither to see nor to partake in a large part of modern industries except as a wage-worker, and then only to learn one infinitesimal process. Even the apprentice system is dead or fast dying. Journeymen no longer have apprentices, but only "helpers," whom they teach as little as possible.

The contrast between child labor in earlier days and in modern city conditions perhaps appears most deplorable when attention is directed to what are euphemistically called the "home industries." So completely has the home lost its good name as a center of industry that the only remedy for the sweat shop is now considered by experts to be the prohibition of profit-making home industries and the conse-

[1] This article was contributed to the Annals, and although not a part of the program of the Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, is included in this volume because of its pertinancy to the topics discussed.

quent increasing relegation of industries to factories where they can be brought under regulation. Truly a noteworthy change from the time when children got a large part and a good part of their education in domestic industries to the time when domestic industries must be abolished in order to save the children from exploitation in them!

The only relief from the intolerable conditions of modern child labor is found by the ordinary child in migration to some other employment just as bad. This instability is commonly deplored because of the evident evil of thus producing an army of shiftless, irresponsible ne'er-do-wells with no lasting associations, but the fact further illustrates the failure of our modern methods of child labor to educate the child. He changes from one form of employment to another, but is educated in none.

In any age previous to the introduction of power machinery, a new employment for children always meant new opportunities for education. Doing something new meant learning something new. But although we have provided by the help of machinery hundreds of new employments for children, we do not thereby give them new sources of education and larger opportunities for development. On the contrary, these new occupations put at stake child-life and sap the foundations of future prosperity.

At the very time when man's power is multiplied a thousand times, when he has at his disposal fingers of steel infinitely more nimble than his own, when he can lift inconceivable weights and strike irresistible blows, and when he can reach around the globe, he does all these things at the expense of his own manhood, womanhood, and, worst of all, childhood. Modern invention is like Frankenstein's creation, which, dehumanized by abuse, became a curse to the inventor. It is bad enough to sacrifice adult life, but to lay the future life and power of the race, in the form of the children, on this altar of mechanical improvement means not progress, but the surest retrogression. "Where there is only a cupidinous ravishment of the future, there, we think, is no true society."

In a word, whereas once the labor of the child was advantageous to him as a means of growth, physical, mental and moral, the effect of modern child labor is degrading, dehumanizing, stupefying and demoralizing.

Bad as child labor is, there is another phase to this problem of the modern city child which, though not so commonly recognized because not so startling nor so dramatic, is none the less serious. It is that presented by the idleness of city children. It is commonly assumed that the children who are not at work are taken care of by the schools, and it is this assumption which leads to the stress laid upon compulsory education by the opponents of child labor.

What proportion of children are in school, what proportion at work and what proportion idle it is not possible to prove statistically because adequate enumerations have not been made. But that children are occupied in school far less than is ordinarily supposed is evident from a computation which takes account of the number of school days in a year, the number of absences, the waking hours of the child and the number of school hours per day. From these it appears that on an average the school keeps children busy about one-third of the time when they are awake.

Now the question arises: What are the children of the city doing during their out-of-school hours? On the one hand some are engaged in exhausting physical labor, in factories, sweat shops and especially in the delivery of goods. Many are news and errand boys. For them the school session is a comparatively restful time between hours of work that are both stultifying and demoralizing. Pitiable as their lot is, it is hardly less so than that of the far greater number of school children in the city who have no required work to do. We cannot deceive ourselves into the belief that since they are not being overworked either in school or in shop they are therefore happily at play[2] or at rest at home.

A visit to the poorer part of any of our large cities will disprove this assumption. As the result of the prevalent conditions of home life in the tenement, the child is inevitably forced out into the street, not only during the day time, but, as common observation shows, until late at night, not only in good weather but in foul. The child has nothing to do at home unless, perhaps, his "home" be a sweat shop where he works; otherwise he is only in the way there. In the evening he cannot go to sleep even if he stays there on account of the work and talk, and so he often runs in the street

2 The cultural effects of play and the importance of providing ample opportunities for it are well recognized and do not need emphasis here. The neglected issue is the educational importance of work.

until ten, eleven or twelve o'clock. As a result it is no exaggeration to say that the tenement child grows up on the street, where he is "educated with fatal precision." What street life makes of the boy and girl is known to all who are familiar with the actual conditions or with the literature of the subject.

But it is not tenement children alone who are exposed to the evils of idleness. It has been estimated by Robert Hunter that there are one-half a million children in greater New York whose only playground is the street. As a matter of fact most of the children in the borough of Manhattan play on the streets, and the street, I submit, is not the place where healthful, stimulating games can be played. As a result the children are largely idle. Even in the better parts of the city one constantly sees groups of well-dressed children listlessly standing about "waiting for something to turn up." Play on an asphalt pavement between two rows of brownstone fronts soon gets to be monotonous. The parks are far away and often protected with warning signs to "Keep off the grass." At home there is little to do in the few small rooms except to read books, just what is done at school. To tease and annoy others, to make uncanny noises, to smoke, to gamble, to dissipate energy in trifling ways, to use and scribble foul language and symbols and to be always ready to "cheese it, the cop," are the open doors before most city boys. With things as they are, between the school and the factory and the street and the pigeon hole flat and the policeman's club, it is little wonder that many a boy finds mischief to do, nuisances to commit and crimes to perpetrate until he is shut up in the reformatory, where some rational account of his nature may be taken and he is given something useful to do.

The case is not so bad for the girls, for there is more for them to do; there is still a remnant of domestic industry left in the apartment home in which they can take part. But still there is plenty of idle out-of-school time left for them, when their far-fetched devices of games are exhausted and they sit gazing and gossiping and "showing off." There is good evidence that the ranks of prostitutes are largely recruited from those who are untrained in any sort of manual labor. The dilemma for the city child seems to be either painful exhaustion and demoralizing work on the one hand, or futile idleness and its consequent immorality on the other.

Even when parents realize the dangers and would gladly set their children at some worthy and educative employment they find that it costs more to do so than to keep them in idleness. The problem has become too large for the individual parent to handle. What was once an individual or domestic problem has become a social problem. Once the responsibility lay with the parent; now it lies with society. Serious as this problem seems when viewed in its social relations, it appears none the less so from the point of view of child nature. This is clear when we remember that the normal child is not averse to work; on the contrary he is bubbling over with energy which under normal conditions expends itself partly in play, partly in work. Children can work, under proper conditions children like to work. President G. Stanley Hall begs the whole question in his definition, "I think work is doing something you don't like to do because somebody else makes you do it." This is not work; this is drudgery. Of course children do not like drudgery. No more do adults. But there is no greater joy of chilhood than manipulative and creative activity. This, beginning as play, a delight in the activity itself, shades insensibly into work, which has a determined end.[3]

Enforced idleness either on city streets or in prisons is a horrible fate for child or adult, and children, we may well believe, are not idle because they want to be idle. They are idle because they are deprived of work, except under such conditions as make it overwearisome, painful and demoralizing. Yet even so they submit to it, even embrace the opportunity to perform it. Enormous numbers of them quit school to take up work.

Where shall we lay the blame for this? The greed of employers in exploiting the unskilled labor of childish hands is a common object of reprobation, and justly so; the stupidity and shortsightedness of parents is open to the severest criticism for allowing their children to become laborers, but neither the greed of the employers

3 The truth is, that the common idea of work needs correction. So much of the world's work has been done under compulsion, either in chattel, serf or wage slavery, that the idea of work as the irrepressible outflow of energy for a determined end has not permeated the common consciousness. Now the discharge of energy is the most continuously pleasureable of human sensations. Impressions, however delightful, in time lose their force, but expression in the free outpouring of energy is an unceasing joy. Our concept of work is so confused by the shame attached to it in its common form of toil, by the pain and exhaustion of drudgery, that we are blind to the joy and glory of work, the means and the proof of human achievement.

nor the foolishness of their parents, nor their immediate economic necessity, could prevail were it not for the love of activity, the passion for creation, the instinct of work which has become a part of the nature of civilized man. The irksomeness of school duties and the ennui of the street are the only alternatives, and hence the children are willing—alas not ready!—to go to work. The reason why parents cannot keep their children in school, but can keep them at work is because the children themselves want to do something. Irene Ashby Macfadyen, in speaking of the number of children in cotton mills in Alabama, has said: ". . . to these must be added the children who come in to help elder brothers and sisters, who are not counted or paid as workers, although they often do a full day's work for the fun of it." "The fun of it"—the pity of it! This is an extreme example, but none the less a real example of the irrepressible activity of the child which takes advantage even of the cotton mill to express itself. With a stupid school curriculum that gives little opportunity for doing things, with idleness on the street for the other hours of the day, it is little wonder that the chance to work—even in degrading and injurious and monotonous employments claims and takes the child away from school.

These facts indicate that there is room and need for an advance beyond legislation prohibitory of child labor and compulsory of education. These measures are sound, progressive and essential. But when we have prevented the child from being ruined in the factory, when we have said that he must go to school, then we are compelled to ask, What shall we do with him in school?

To compel children to go to school, no matter what the failings of the school be, and to give them no occupation for empty hours may prove vastly disastrous. The apparent remoteness of the subjects now taught in our public schools from what seem to be the practical duties of life, influences many parents to put their children to work and evade the law. It is next to useless to show to such parents that the very entrance of children into gainful occupations tends to drag down wages and to drive adults out of work. The average parent thinks not of the general economic situation, but simply asks: "Will my child's work add to our family income?" But when he is convinced that added schooling increases the child's chances of making a better livelihood, he strains every resource to keep him in

school, unless, indeed, the evils of out-of-school idleness are so impressive that he puts him to work to keep him out of mischief.

The alternative then is not overwork on the one hand and futile schooling and idleness on the other; the cure is not to drive the child by law from the factory back to the foul street and the overcrowded school. The question is: Shall we be content with prohibition of child labor or shall we proceed to have organization thereof for educational purposes? Children, we have seen, have for ages worked, have been educated in the truest sense by their work, can work to great advantage to the community and to themselves and, under proper conditions, like to work. The inference does not seem far-fetched that they have a right to work. The problem then faces us, how to keep children happily at work during such part of their time and at such kinds of work as shall build them up physically, intellectually, socially—in a word, educate them.

Since experience shows that the factory as it exists to-day cannot do this, inevitably we turn to the public school as the means of solving the problem. One's recognition of the present value of the public school need not be doubted because he points out that its present function is totally inadequate to the task now before it. Its recognized function to-day is that of securing literacy, and we learn with satisfaction that illiteracy is steadily decreasing throughout the whole country, even in the great manufacturing States, with their vast tides of immigration. It sets itself the task of widely establishing the "conventionalities of intelligence," namely the three R's, and therein its success is apparent. We may gratefully recognize that the common school does much in fitting children for common human intercourse.

But there is a growing demand, often blindly expressed, that it do more than this. There are signs of heresy against the fetich worship which confidently assumes literacy to be a cure for all our ills. There is a growing demand that the object of the public school shall be to prepare the child for "complete living." Whatever else "complete living" may include, it always has included, as I contend, an appreciation of industrial processes. But in our schools, as Superintendent Seaver, of Boston, says, "the traditional balance between learning and labor has been upset and learning has taken the whole time." It is even worse than that. It is one particular

kind of learning that has taken the whole time. There are other "conventionalities of intelligence" except the three R's. Familiarity with economic processes, which have long constituted the substratum of conventional intelligence is relegated into unimportance in our educational systems. This gives firm ground for the criticism that the schools are isolated and apart from life. The reason is that now, as always, life is chiefly industrial, whereas the school attempts to educate apart from industry, or, at best, for a commercial or literary environment. Children are trained to be consumers rather than producers. They do not adequately partake in the community life, especially on its industrial side, and since the school continues its tradition of teaching the three R's as its chief function there is a great hiatus in their lives, namely a lack of rich, personal experience, without which their school training in linguistic expression is largely futile. It expects them to talk and write without sufficient material of experience about which to talk and write. By overspecialization the school defeats its own avowed purpose. The function which the home has been obliged to abandon, namely, the furnishing of valuable industrial life to the child, the school has not assumed. What the school needs is to amplify its utilitarian functions, to think more in terms of the real world of industry.

"Manual training" as ordinarily conducted does not satisfy these conditions. In almost no school does it occupy more than one per cent. of the childs' waking hours. It is only by the elasticity of language that it can be dignified as "work," for it is plainly not productive labor. It is too commonly a histrionic participation in certain primitive processes which are factitiously interesting and fictitiously important. At best, constructive handwork takes the child no further than the town or craft stage, and there he is left, so far as systematic education goes, at the threshold of modern industry. After the child leaves school, until he is ready to take up his life occupation, there is a gap. This may be filled by some juvenile industry, but there is little or no education therein, for the benumbing, dwarfing atmosphere of the factory or the sweatshop is more likely to demoralize the child than to fit him for future usefulness. His industrial education is not under the direction of wise teachers. He sees industrial life with no perspective, but is plunged into it when he leaves school under the compulsion of earning a living

by the monotonous repetition of one little act. He is not educated by the school for the industrial system; he is simply fed into its maw. To appreciate industrial processes in any large and meaningful way is then impossible. We boast of our practical education and of the stress we lay on "the essentials," and yet allow nine-tenths of our children to pass out of school without any adequate conceptions of the industries in which they are sure to spend the rest of their lives, to say nothing of their inability to make a living therein.

This, then, in a word, is our problem: how the children of the community shall be saved from the evils of premature and deteriorative labor, from ignorance, from idleness and from the consequent immorality. If the school does not make them intelligently industrious, the factory, the mine, the store, will make them ignorantly so, or the street will keep them idle and worthless.

When we ask how modern productive processes can be so used we are led at once to recognize certain indispensable conditions of such use. There is, of course, a certain minimum age limit. It is not here suggested that Bessemer furnaces and rolling mills be made a part of the kindergarten. But it is suggested that there is a gap between the present school age of most children and the age at which they are able to enter the trades, when they could be educated in those processes in which they are to be engaged.

Another condition is that the hours be not overlong at which the child shall work. This principle is already recognized in the limitation of study hours; the futility of study when attention has flagged is well known. The exhaustion of power when interest is lacking is equally applicable to work.

A third negative condition is that the work should not be unduly monotonous. This is closely connected with the previously named condition. If work is varied its hours may be lengthened. The extreme subdivision of labor so characteristic of modern industry is what constitutes its chief evil. That began in the seventeenth century long before the advent of modern power-driven machinery. Machine production has but accentuated it. If it were eliminated, machine production would be robbed of most of its horrors. In an educational system of work, therefore, which is not conducted for

the profit of an exploiter it is an indispensable condition that there be variety of work.

A more positive demand to be made of industrial education is that there be a preliminary acquaintance with the evolution of the industries in question. With this scheme many schools are already familiar in the study of the primitive and craft stages of production. These are valuable in giving an understanding of the principles involved in the industrial processes taught. When these principles are understood, many modern methods easily lose their mysterious and ugly character.

Education for modern industry involves, it almost goes without saying, an acquaintance with the principles of machines. The inclined plane, the wedge, the lever, the screw, the pulley, the wheel and axle, the cam, have become "conventionalities of intelligence" among us almost as truly as the symbols of language. To master them and the principles of the prime movers and of machines for the transmission and utilization of power would tend to make boys and girls not slaves but masters of modern processes. Now, instead of rejoicing in them they are too often afraid of them.

Last, but not least, of the conditions under which modern industrial process should be made a part of education is that real work should be required. Not merely to study about work nor to play at work, but to engage in positive productive work is a necessary part of preparation for complete living. The acquisition of habits of industriousness involves a certain amount of pressure, not to be determined by momentary whims. We do not hesitate at compulsory education—which at present means little but book learning—why should we hesitate at a degree of compulsory work? This does not mean that there should be no joy in work. Far from it. Work is not drudgery. Drudgery educates no one, whether the drudgery be learning to spell or learning to weave. Nor does it mean that the fullest use should not be made of all those stimuli to work which the experience of the race has found valuable in the past, such as festivals, games, music, *esprit du corps,* and the rest. It does mean that the child should learn the force of the motives that will chiefly actuate him when he goes to work for a living, not indeed the cupidity and fear of starvation which the old economists assumed were the real motives, but the joy of expression and production, the "instinct of workmanship," which have become a

part of our race inheritance in spite of the exploitation of man by man.

If these are the conditions of modern industrial education it is evident that a new duty lies before the public school, and the question at once arises: If the school is to teach industry as well as letters and the other essentials, must there not be an extension of school hours? Certainly, and why not? We have seen that the evils confronting us are child labor and child idleness. If the child is in school, that occupies only one-third of his waking hours, at other times, especially in the city, he is idle or overworked. Let us now suppose the entire success of the campaign against child labor and for compulsory education up to the highest standard proposed. These measures which we may assume as fundamental and necessary steps, taken by themselves simply intensify the situation. What will the school do? What must it do if it is to be loyal to its traditions? Whatever else we include in industrial education, a fundamental requirement to be made of it is that it take its cue from modern industry. Let the value of learning primitive and mediæval processes be granted. But that is not enough. Unless the boy or the girl who goes out of the school to make his living knows how to make modern things in a modern way he is not in any proper sense of the word educated. Child labor is not bad any more than modern industry is bad because of the use of the machine, because of the division of labor. It is the abuse of the machine, its unguarded condition, its excessive speed through unduly prolonged hours—it is the repetition of the same mechanical movement once a second and twelve million times a year, it is the minute subdivision of labor with the consequent confinement and mechanization of the worker, that is bad—bad enough for the adult, worse for the child. It is the utter sacrifice of the worker, and especially the child worker, to the process of machine production and divided labor that calls for condemnation. Can, then, the machine and the accompanying division of labor be utilized as an educational force. To deny that they can is to deny that education has to do with real life, and to affirm that labor and culture are antithetic. We are so impressed with the evils of modern machine production partly through the effectiveness of the anti-child labor campaign, that we are loth to acknowledge that the evils are incidents, not essentials, of such production. But when we once

realize that the machine is a means both of subduing nature and of stimulating the intellect a whole new field of education is open to the pedagog.

The alarming increase of neurotic diseases among school children, the crying need of facilities for play and the social necessity for industrial education—all three facts point in the same direction, namely, that the school must assume the responsibility for a greater share of the child's time. If it educated him through play, through the dance, through systematic exercise, there would be less idle and vicious time upon the street; if it educated him through work, it would increase his industrial efficiency, and through both play and work he might well be spared some of his present study of books, with no loss of knowledge of what they contain. Three hours for study, three hours for play and three hours for work would be an arrangement far in advance of our present system with its worse than waste of child energy.

"It would be a most wholesome arangement in schools," said Froebel, "to establish actual working hours similar to the existing study hours; and it will surely come to this."

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILD LABOR

By Graham Taylor, D.D.,
Warden of Chicago Commons

This question is more than an ethical question, far deeper than a legislative question,—this is a human question. So human that it seems like one of those cross-section plans of a great structure which lets you see it from the top to the bottom. It is so human that it cuts like the great chasm of the cañon of the Colorado, all down through the strata of human life; so human that it really bewilders one at first thought, and yet we need something to lead us down from the top to the bottom, from the surface away down to the elemental principle. But we must begin at the top of the ground. I wish you could look across the street from where I live and see the little one-story house, and see the people on the porch watching for someone, and finally around the corner comes an express wagon, and in it a whole collection of new immigrants, just arriving from the old country, with their baggage, bananas and babies. Such greetings, such huggings of men with men, such kissings on both cheeks, such a wonderful cheer to welcome the poor steerage passengers as they come to this far El Dorado, to this land of promise!

Well, now what is there that effects their nature most? It is their deep, intense, almost wild love of their children, especially among the Italian immigrants. Yet the factory inspector tells us that eighty-five per cent. of those arraigned for breach of the child labor law are of the foreign-born people, and eight per cent. of them are these very Italians who come from southern Italy. How do you account for it that these people, so passionately fond of each other, can apparently be so indifferent? Well, they arrive, and there is a warm welcome given them, and after awhile the hospitality is over and the hard struggle for existence is on. They are survivors in the first stages of that hard struggle, but after awhile, when sickness or bad weather or some industrial depression comes and the father is out of work, then the temptations of severe poverty appear

and the struggle for existence is on in earnest and some of them yield, but you would be astonished to know how few do yield and let the child go to the shop.

From the new country itself there is a more infectious and insidious temptation still. It comes not from across the sea, but it comes from the very atmosphere charged with electrical industry in this new land. There comes the temptation of the quest for money that is almost the religion of the Americans. Great is American "Thrift," and Benjamin Franklin its prophet. These immigrants begin to see what their neighbors are doing; their neighbors are getting more income, so they, too, strive until they are able to buy the house in which they live. This done, they keep the family in the basement of the rear tenement and they buy a second house; and they can still pass down the streets and everybody applauds them for getting on in the world. The contagion is spreading, and in fact the inspector tells us that people who bring their children in to apply for work are fairly well dressed, especially in the summer time. In the winter they are the poor who come. Before these mostly illiterate parents get our uplift toward the appreciation of education they get the down-let to money-thrift at the expense of childhood, manhood and womanhood. So this country has to take part of the responsibility.

Two educational agencies are at command and are adequate to lift the family out of inherited indifference to the value of play and schooling, and to protect it from the aggressions of American "thrift" upon childhood. First of all the deterrent effect of enforced law is amply demonstrated by our experience in Illinois. Our collection of $25,000 in fines from over a thousand prosecutions in a single year, is in striking contrast with the score or more convictions reported from some other large industrial States. The records of the factory inspector's office show a decrease of twenty per cent. in the discovered breaches of the law the past year over the preceding one, although during this period the school population increased two per cent. While in 1901 the number of children at work was 4.1 per cent. of the total employed in 1904, they constituted only 1.9 per cent. of the total. Meanwhile 2,200 of them have been released from the mines and thousands more from the holiday work after 7 p. m. The commensurate increase of the school attendance in Chicago indicates the pressure upon even the greediest parents, at least to hasten the process of their children's learning to read and write.

The attractive influence of the new schooling and other social agencies may be depended upon to draw such parents out of their bad ways more effectively even than they can be driven out by the terrors of the law, as applied by the compulsory education department and the factory inspectors. For from the kindergarten to the vacation school, and from the social settlement clubs to the new park houses, with their public library, stations and gymnasiums, the tendency of these educational up-lifts is to rescue the child's leisure from idleness and vice to both profit and pleasure. And this solution of the very real parental problem in the leisure of their children promises to help solve the problem of child labor.

Facing the railway entrance to Bradford, England, is the monument to a young man. Clinging to his stalwart form is the figure of a little girl. Beneath his outstretched arm a boy has fled for refuge from a pursuer, whose approach is warded off by the protector. On the base of the monument is inscribed the belated tribute to the man who dared lead the forlorn hope against child labor in England seventy years ago—"Richard Oastler was born in Bradford." Belated indeed, long after the hero had suffered his martyrdom in the debtor's prison, and neglected old age. Of that generation which Thomas Sadler arraigned before Parliament, as first guilty of child labor, he said in 1831: "Our ancestors could not have supposed it possible, posterity will not believe it true, that a generation of Englishmen had existed that would work lisping infancy of a few summers' old, regardless alike of its smiles or tears, and unmoved by its unresisting weakness, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen hours a day, and through the weary night also, till in the dewy morn of existence the bud of youth faded and fell where it was unfolded." It seems hardly possible that the light from our statue of "Liberty enlightening the world," seventy-four years after England began to repent of its crime against childhood, should fall upon a generation of Americans as heartlessly repeating the same cruel folly, as though the experience and law of civilization had not outlawed the barbarity. But by that light a new generation of Americans is emerging who will cease not to lift and bear the gauntlet that fell from Richard Oastler's hand, until every child in America is assured its right to play and learn, as the best assurance of the nation's perpetuity and progress.

THE OPERATION OF THE WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR LAW[1]

By Edward W. Frost, Esq.,
of Milwaukee, Wis.

All social reforms in Wisconsin begin with the inspiration of noble women. Three or four years ago we made up our minds, because the women showed us the way, that we would write upon the statute books of Wisconsin laws which would protect children, as they were not then protected; and in one session—we do not know how we did it, we are very glad that something did it through us—a compulsory education law, an improved juvenile court law, and more than all a strong child labor law, were written into the laws of Wisconsin. It was a good achievement, if I may speak for my State so frankly.

The conditions which brought about these laws in our State were not so dreadful as those described by Dr. Adler as existing in many other States. I would far rather discuss things which I have seen in South Carolina, in Georgia, of little children going to work at six o'clock on twelve-hour shifts. But we have the same conditions in Wisconsin that prevail elsewhere with respect to greed, ignorance, the hurry to be rich at all costs, the tenements inhabited often by an alien population, men and women who began work when they should have been in school, and who see no reason why their children should not work as early,—and we were forced in self defense,—in defense of our institutions, in defense of the land that was to be regenerated and purified by such work as the National Child Labor Committee stands for—to take these laws up and put them through. We had the same old law that permitted little children under fourteen to work to help support the family, and we struck that law off. We had a law which permitted little children to work on an affidavit, taken before some obscure notary public, merely an affidavit made by a parent or guardian or a little child itself, and you know what that meant.

[1] Address at the Chicago session of the Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Dec. 16, 1905.

These things were struck from the laws of Wisconsin that the fair name of our State should no longer be disgraced, and in their place we put the permit system, based on what has been pronounced by the National Factory Inspectors Association, a body of experienced men, one of the most practical tests of the age of a child applying for work, that is to be found anywhere in the United States. Those who come close to this work know that it is comparatively easy to forbid work for wages by children under fourteen; that it is comparatively easy to classify the employments in which children under sixteen can be employed; and that it is more than comparatively hard to find out how old the child is when he asks for a permit to work. I asked in South Carolina the age of the little children employed in one of the great mills. I was permitted to do so, I hardly knew why, by a hard-headed superintendent of one of the greatest mills in the South. I said to him, "How do you get at the age of these children?" "Oh," he said, "we don't pay any attention to it; their parents say they are twelve (the required age there) and we take them," I said, "May I ask them their age?" and he said, "Yes, go ahead." I said to the first child, "Hold old are you?" "Ten." How long have you been at work?" 'About a year and a half." I said to the next one, "How old are you?" "Eleven." "How much schooling have you had?" "Never had none." And so it went on.

The question is how to get the correct age of the children. Now, under our old law permitting children to work on a mere affidavit, the people who were clothed by law with the authority occasionally took a child out of work, but it was very hard to do it. Once in a while a man would be brought up for swearing falsely to the age of his child, and he was poor generally, and the court was very well-dressed and the District Attorney had had a good dinner, and they didn't want to be hard on the poor man—we are all very merciful sometimes when we ought not to be—and the man was let go without a fine to do the same thing over again. So in this new law we wrote these requirements, that when, in the State of Wisconsin, a child applies for work, when there is any doubt, and there is doubt in a very large part of the cases, the official to whom he applies must demand a verified birth certificate, and a verified baptismal certificate if he cannot get the first,

and if he cannot get the verified baptismal certificate he must demand legal proof of age given at entering school, and then if he cannot get any of these proofs he must be satisfied by other evidence. These tests were at that time rare in child labor laws. What has been the result? It has revolutionized the system in Wisconsin, and some one thousand children were taken, in a year, out of the factories and stores where they were unlawfully employed and thousands kept from beginning work under age. These tests work. The first two can sometimes be evaded, because parents cannot produce the first two certificates, but it is increasingly hard to escape the first, and very often the school age gives the facts. When the child entered school there was less reason to misrepresent his age.

We must remember that modern tendencies, modern improvements in machinery, the outworked condition of hard working men and women made prematurely old by child labor while in your circle of life and mine they would still be young, are daily calling louder and louder for the labor of little children, and no amount of heart-breaking anxiety on that point will do. We must secure legislation and then see that the law is enforced. A good legislature with a good Governor will put through a law, but only public opinion applied steadily can have power over the officials who execute that law; without the aid of public opinion it cannot be enforced.

I am glad to say that in the State of Wisconsin we are supported in the enforcement of the child labor law by the great majority of large employers of labor. We did have our conflict with the glass works. I have heard it rumored that in other States there is conflict with the glass works. Glass works and child labor do not seem to get along very well together. But the great employers have accepted the law. They send for the factory inspectors themselves and say to them, "Go through our factory, and if any one is wrongfully employed here let us know it." But the little stores and the little businesses break the law. The first things which we must look out for are the stores on the corners employing only one or two boys or girls. And only constant energy and wide-awake interest will help solve the problem in every State as we are trying to solve it in Wisconsin. We have no perfect law. We would be glad to have the educational test and further limit of the hours of labor. But no law can go too fast and too far ahead of public opinion and be enforced.

There came a time when a great people had broken through into a promised land; they had won many battles; they had written the pages of history with glorious deeds, but it was said there was yet much land to be possessed. This is a great field. We who are laboring in it know we are building, be it ever so little, so that those who come after us may build upon our foundations, to construct more successfully strong walls of protection for the children of the future. There is much to be grateful for, and when we hear what the past ten years have done for child labor reform let us thank God and take courage.

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF CHILD LABOR[1]

By S. W. Woodward,
Of the firm of Woodward & Lathrop, Washington, D. C.

It is supposed that the question of child labor has been fully discussed from the ethical standpoint, and that all are agreed that it is harmful to the mental and physical growth of the child, and also hurtful to the state to place a child at work at an age under fourteen. I shall, therefore, try to discuss the question from the practical standpoint of the business men.

In the complex interests of business as conducted to-day, there is opportunity for the employment of many children under sixteen years of age. To complement this, the conditions rendering it necessary for many children to seek some gainful occupation, at an early age, are so many and so varied, that lest it may be thought a simple matter of law-making, let us look at some known conditions which confront us in every-day life in business affairs.

From a somewhat long experience, the following conditions have constantly appeared:

Even with both parents living, lack of employment by the bread-winner of the family may make it necessary for the child to make some contribution weekly to the family support.

Again, the father dying, the mother is often compelled to use every means to supplement her own earnings in order to support the family and keep younger brothers and sisters at school for a year or two more.

Or, both parents being dead, the child is often thrown into the custody of the nearest of kin, who themselves are not able to support him, and must, from force of circumstances, place him in some employment.

Under these conditions it would seem that they were a law

[1]Address at the third session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, December 9, 1905.

unto themselves, and provided the child is in good physical condition, the chances are that there will be no great harm done.

However, a thoughtful consideration shows the very great difficulty in dealing with the situation, as these children constitute a large proportion of the applications for employment in mercantile lines. These conditions existing, thousands of children drift into gainful occupation, either wisely or unwisely, and thus become a factor in social, economic, and business life. Some of the broadest-minded merchants, in order to remedy the recognized inconsistency of the situation (not to say evil), and having in their employ many children under sixteen, deprived of opportunity hitherto, have opened schools of instruction in their establishments, giving the boys two hours' instruction in the early morning in elementary education. This, however, is exceptional and can only reach a limited number; but is nevertheless a move in the right direction, and proves in itself that a better education is needful for promotion and advancement. It may be stated as a safe proposition that for every dollar earned by a child under fourteen years of age ten-fold will be taken from their earning capacity in later years. Lest it be said the statement is too strong, the writer hastens to say that he is perfectly familiar with instances, from Alexander Hamilton to Andrew Carnegie, and many others of personal knowledge, who were compelled to begin life's work at the age of thirteen, and whose success would seem to disprove the statement. One of the most successful merchants in Boston to-day was forced at nine years of age, on account of his father's death, to assist a widowed mother in the support of three younger children.

But exceptions only prove the rule, and it is only necessary to point to the large number of children under sixteen years of age who, for greater or less misdemeanors, have become public charges upon the State, and are compelled, a few years later, to go into life's work with not only little education to help them, but an experience which will tend to degrade them, to show the necessity for wise legislation in the matter.

The present prosperity of business interests in our country has brought about a condition of affairs which must count for much in the future welfare of the children of to-day. For the past five years, the average wage earner has had perhaps more steady, con-

tinued employment than in any previous five years of this generation. A consequence of this is, that in looking to the future welfare of his children he very properly and wisely decides that he can afford to send the boy or girl to school for one, two, or three years longer, knowing that by this course he is doing all that lies in his power to prepare him for usefulness. This action is felt in all business interests and has very noticeably reduced the number of applications from the families composing the better class of wage-earners. It will result in giving the children of to-day an opportunity for such education and equipment as will tend to make them more self-respecting and better citizens. It is an encouraging feature of the present situation.

Since the province of the State is to legislate for the greatest good of *all* its citizens, it would seem that the highest wisdom would be to place an age limit by written law, below which children ought not be placed in gainful occupations, and this age may possibly be best fixed at fourteen years.

It may be interesting to know that the unwritten law is also quite effective in this particular, viz.: that there do not appear at the present time any children between the ages of eleven and fourteen, the average child seeming to pass from the age of eleven to fourteen without due regard to the Gregorian calendar.

While in Washington we have peculiar conditions, in that we are not a manufacturing or commercial city, we fully sympathize with the views of those advocating child labor laws in mining and manufacturing communities, and shall be glad to be placed in the columns of States favoring advanced laws for the protection of the youth of both sexes.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A CHILD LABOR LAW FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA[1]

By Henry J. Harris, Ph.D.,
United States Bureau of Labor, and Secretary of District of Columbia Citizens' Child Labor Committee.

Before discussing the essential provisions of a law regulating the employment of children in the District of Columbia, it should be stated that the local Child Labor Committee is in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the Civic Center, the Public Education Association, and the numerous citizens' associations to secure a compulsory education law for the District. The necessity for such a law is so patent that it would be a waste of time to discuss the subject before this audience. The relation of a compulsory education law to a child labor law is a vital one, for perhaps the principal reason for prohibiting the labor of young children is to assure them an opportunity of obtaining the educational and other advantages offered by the public school system.

The bill proposed for the District of Columbia was drawn up on lines suggested by the National Child Labor Committee, and was carefully adapted to the needs of the District by the president of the Board of District Commissioners and the local Child Labor Committee. In its present form the bill may be called a conservative one; it contains no provisions which have not been in actual operation in other States and which experience has shown to be effective in removing the evils which also accompany the employment of children in this city.

The first part of the bill provides that no child under fourteen years of age may be employed in any occupation while the public schools are in session. During the time that the schools are not in session no child under fourteen may be employed in any factory,

1 Address at the third session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C., December 9, 1905.

workshop, mercantile establishment, store, business office, telegraph office, restaurant, hotel, apartment house, theater, bowling alley, or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages.

For children fourteen years of age, but under sixteen, the proposed law requires that such children must obtain an age and schooling certificate before securing employment. This certificate shows the age of the child, and states that the child can read and write simple sentences in the English language; it also states that the child has attended school for at least one hundred and thirty days during the school year previous to the fourteenth birthday, or during the year previous to applying for such school record, and during this time has received instruction in reading, spelling, writing, English grammar, geography, and is familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic, including fractions. The schooling certificates are to be approved by the superintendent of public schools, or a deputy acting under his instructions. The superintendent also keeps a duplicate of each certificate on file in his office. In addition to the age and educational qualifications, the child must also be in good health and physically able to do the work at which he expects to be employed.

The statements of the parents regarding the age of the child must be substantiated by documentary evidence, such as transcripts of birth or other certificates, unless the official in charge is convinced that it is impossible to secure such documentary evidence, in which case the affidavit of the parent or guardian will be accepted.

The employer is required to keep on file all age and schooling certificates of the children under sixteen employed by him, and to return to the children their certificates when they leave his employ. The employer must keep two complete lists of the names of such children—one on file and one posted where it can be consulted readily by the inspectors authorized by the act. In addition, in each room where children under sixteen are employed there must be posted a notice stating the number of hours of labor required on each day, specifying the hours of commencing and stopping work, and stating when the mealtimes begin and end. Any child found working at other than the times specified in this notice is to be considered as employed in violation of the law.

No child under sixteen years of age may be employed more

than eight hours per day, or forty-eight hours per week, or between seven in the evening and six in the morning.

The penalties for violations of the law are the same as those imposed in most of the child labor laws of other States. In some cases, penalties may be imposed on the parents as well as on the employers. To secure the proper enforcement of the law, two inspectors are provided.

How would such a law remove the evils which now exist as the result of the employment of children? First of all, it would prevent the employment of very young children in occupations which must be classed as harmful because of their physical, mental, and moral effects on the development of the child. Thus, during the time that the public schools are not in session, children under fourteen may not be employed in factories, where the physical strain is apt to be severe, or in stores, or in the messenger service, where the influences of street life are morally dangerous. The employment of very young children in the street trades is perhaps the greatest of the child labor evils existing in the city at the present time; this and the uncalled for working of children at night will be prevented by the bill under discussion.

The regulation of children's work should not stop when the child has completed his thirteenth year; such a child is by no means ready for the exploitation of his laboring capacity to the full extent which present industrial methods make possible. The bill, therefore, not only limits the working time of children under sixteen years of age to eight hours per day, but provides that these hours shall come between 6 a. m. and 7 p. m. and shall not amount to more than forty-eight hours per week. How successful the committee will be in securing these provisions regarding hours of labor remains to be seen, but an earnest effort will be made to persuade Congress to grant them. Some of the workmen in this city are now preparing for a struggle to secure for themselves an eight-hour day, and it must in reason be conceded that a child should not be subjected to harsher treatment than a full-grown man. From the current discussion of conditions in this city it has been demonstrated beyond question that such a provision is urgently needed. The factories in this city are those engaged in "light" manufactures, and it may be regarded as a certainty that we shall always have a number of

such establishments because of the opportunity afforded to exploit the cheap labor of the women and children of the men engaged in the various skilled and unskilled trades of this locality. Factories engaged in this line of production always find it more profitable to use the labor of women and children—especially of children—than to instal machinery, and as this type of industry is particularly subject to periods of intense activity, we find the factory children of the District worked for excessively long hours during the busy seasons which precede the Christmas and Easter holidays. The same state of affairs was found in connection with the children employed in the stores and in the messenger service. The evil was emphasized in an unexpected manner when the principal of one of the largest night schools in the city stated that it was not advisable to visit the night schools in the present month (December) if one wanted to obtain an idea of the educational work carried on, since the schools were almost deserted because so many of the children, including the youngest, were working until late at night. It needs no argument to prove that children under sixteen are not ready for such excessively long working hours, and the beginning of many a case of disease and physical incapacity must date from the exhaustion of the long hours of toil of the holiday season.

It will be noticed that the bill does not provide for any regulation of the sale of newspapers. It is unquestionably true that some restriction of this demoralizing traffic is desirable and would be beneficial, but it is doubtful if Congress would grant such a law. In case the present bill is put into force, the Child Labor Committee will exert its best efforts to remedy such other evils as may call for regulation, and one of the first evils to receive attention will be those connected with the most extensive of the street trades.

Before concluding, your attention is requested to some of the objections which have been urged against the bill. The objection which has been heard most frequently is due to the fact that the bill makes no exception in the case of the children of a widowed mother or invalid father, who because of poverty, may be in need of the earnings of the child who has not yet reached fourteen. It should be stated that there are a number of States which make such an exception, but both the national and the local Child Labor Committees object most earnestly to inserting such a provision in the

proposed law; first, because it would be an injustice to the child, and, second, because it would open the way to abuses of a serious character.

A careful study of the problem has led the committee to the conclusion that this phase of child labor restriction has been given a prominence altogether unwarranted by the facts. In several cities efforts have been made to ascertain how many families would be forced to apply for charitable aid if the earnings of the children under the statutory age were denied them. In New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, the results of such investigations have uniformly shown that though there are children of widows at work, the number of families which would be forced to ask for aid is very small. At a recent interview, the secretary of the Board of Charities of the District stated that although for many years he had been in daily contact with the poorest of the city's population, he could not at that moment recall from memory a single case where the child's earnings made the difference between self-support and the necessity of asking for outside relief. The agents of the Associated Charities, however, state that such cases are found occasionally, though they are rare. But granting the existence of such cases, can it be claimed that it is the wisest solution of the problem to deny to the poorest of our children all the mental, moral, and physical advantages obtained from attendance at the public schools for the sake of the few dollars of weekly earnings which this sacrifice may bring? Furthermore, such a policy would be a confession that there exists in this community a number of worthy persons who are conspicuously in need of assistance, but that the community prefers that the burden of this relief should be placed on the shoulders of little children rather than have it borne by the community itself. It certainly needs but to state this matter plainly to convince every one of the great injustice which such an exemption would cause. European practice in this connection should be suggestive. Recently an examination was made of the child labor laws of the seven leading European industrial countries. These laws provide for almost every imaginable kind and degree of exemption, but in not one of these countries could a child be deprived of his right to attend the common schools because of the pecuniary misfortunes of his parents.

Another objection to the proposed child labor law arose from the claim that a compulsory education law would remedy the evils of child labor as they exist in this city. A number of Senators have been especially insistent on this point. As stated before, the Child Labor Committee regards a compulsory education law as absolutely essential to the proper protection of the working children of the District, but that such a law would remove the evils attacked by a child labor law has yet to be proved. The education bill now before Congress provides for the compulsory attendance of children eight to fourteen years of age at a public school or its equivalent. It would therefore prevent the employment of children under fourteen while the schools were in session. To enforce this provision, the truant officers authorized by the act shall visit all places where "children" (as no age limit is specified, this may include all persons under twenty-one) are employed, and as often as twice a year shall demand from the employer a list of such children, with their names and ages. These are the only provisions regulating the employment of children. Experience elsewhere has shown that such lists of working children, with merely a statement of their ages unsupported by documentary evidence, are practically worthless. One of the largest employers of young persons in the city has said that there seem to be no children between the ages of eleven and fourteen if one my judge from the statements of those who apply for work. Until six months ago, in Pennsylvania, the affidavit of the parent as to the age of his child was sufficient to secure an employment certificate, but the wholesale perjury on the part of parents which this provision led to soon nullified the whole child labor law and required a radical change. The simple list of children, therefore, with the ages as reported by the children themselves, will hardly prove an efficient means of detecting the employment of children under the age fixed by the law. It must also be remembered that if the education law alone is to be depended upon for the removal of the evils connected with the employment of children, it means that the day after a child has completed his thirteenth year he may be kept at work for twelve or thirteen hours per day, or he may be employed throughout the night. This would leave absolutely untouched two of the principal evils which the committee is endeavoring to check. The proposed education law

also takes no account of the educational qualifications of children over fourteen years of age; if an illiterate child of fourteen comes into this city from one of the neighboring states, the compulsory education law would not prevent such a child from securing employment and being deprived of educational opportunities. These statements are not made in any spirit of criticism of the compulsory education bill—that bill is apparently an efficient means of securing educational opportunities to children between the ages of eight and fourteen, but it will not prevent, and indeed was not expected to prevent, the evils connected with the exploitation of child labor now existing in the national capital.

If this discussion of the objections to the proposed child labor law has seemed to deal too much with the obvious and the self-evident, your indulgence is asked on the ground that these have been the very objections which have impeded the progress of the bill and which may possibly hinder its passage. The account of the provisions of the bill is anything but interesting, of course, but perhaps it was worth while in order to make clear what is the aim of the bill and what are the methods by which it is sought to attain this end.

The passing of this bill would be materially assisted if all friends of the movement would write to their members of Congress and urge the early consideration of the measure, both on account of the immediate benefits it would confer on the working children of this city and of the indirect, but very real, benefits which would spring from having a child labor law of a high standard at the nation's capital.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The first annual meeting of this committee was held in New York, February 14th to 16th, 1905. Scarcely a year elapsed before it was deemed advisable to hold another national convention. The second annual meeting was called to meet in the city of Washington, December 8th to 10th, 1905, and the demand for the public discussion of the subjects with which it was to deal made it necessary, before the Program Committee had completed its labors, to arrange for two supplementary sessions, one in the city of Philadelphia, on December 7th, at the Witherspoon Hall, and the other in the city of Chicago, on December 16th, in Sinai Temple. Still another meeting was held in Milwaukee on the night of December 18th, which really constituted a third supplementary session, although the proceedings of the Milwaukee meeting have not been included in the official report.

The following program for the entire annual meeting was finally arranged and carried out:

PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

December 8th, 9th and 10th, 1905.

Two supplementary sessions of the annual meeting held in Philadelphia and Chicago, on December 7th and 16th, respectively.

General topic of the annual meeting:

CHILD LABOR A MENACE TO INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

First session, Friday December 8th, 3 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy.

Topic: Recent Legislation and Efforts to Restrict Child Labor in the United States.

1. Address of Welcome.
   Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, Commissioner of the District of Columbia.
2. "The Menace of Child Labor."
   Felix Adler, Ph.D., Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.
3. "The Progress and Outlook of the Movement Against Child Labor."
   Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Secretary of the National Committee.

4. "Child Labor in the Cotton Industry of the Southern States."
   A. J. McKelway, D.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Second session, Friday, December 8th, 8 P.M.

Presiding Officer, Felix Adler, Ph.D., Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, Professor of Political and Social Ethics, Columbia University, and Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

Topic: A Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor and Practical Legislative Remedies.

1. "Some Arguments Against Child Labor."
   John Graham Brooks, Cambridge, Mass., President of the American Social Science Association.
2. "The Federal Government and the Working Children."
   Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League.
3. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."
   Owen R. Lovejoy, Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Saturday, December 9th, 9 A. M.—Joint executive meeting of the National and State Child Labor Committees. Reports from the State Chairmen and representatives of State Committees.

11 A. M.—The President of the United States received the members of the National Committee and their guests at the White House.

Third session, Saturday, December 9th, 3 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.

Topic: New Legislation, with Special Reference to the Needs of the District of Columbia.

1. "Child Labor at the National Capital."
   Hon. Charles P. Neill, Ph.D., United States Commissioner of Labor.
2. "A Model Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia."
   S. W. Woodward, of Woodward & Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; Henry J. Harris, Ph.D., Secretary of the Citizens' District Child Labor Committee.
3. "Child Labor and the Attitude of Organized Labor."
   Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Sunday, Decembr 10th.—The churches of Washington very generally responded to the request that this day be especially observed as Children's Day, and that at least at one service reference be made to the work being done to free children from premature toil and its evil effects. In several of the churches an entire service was devoted to this subject, and addresses made by pastors and members of the National Committee and others identified with work for children.

SUPPLEMENTARY SESSIONS.

Philadelphia, December 7th, 8 P. M.—Joint meeting of the National and Pennsylvania Child Labor Committees, held under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Presiding Officer, L. S. Rowe, Ph.D., President of the Academy.

Topic: The Protection of Children.

1. "The Menace of Child Labor."
   Felix Adler, Ph.D.
2. "Some Results of the Recent Child Labor Law in Pennsylvania."
   Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.
3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."
   Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.
4. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."
   Owen R. Lovejoy.

Chicago, Ill., Sinai Temple.—Saturday, December 16th, 8 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois.

Topic: The Scope and Progress of the Child Labor Movement.

Opening remarks by Dr. Emil C. Hirsch.

1. "Menace of Child Labor."
   Felix Adler, Ph.D.
2. "Some Results of Recent Child Labor Legislation in Illinois."
   Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.
3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."
   Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.
4. "Parental Responsibility for Child Labor."
   Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons.
5. "The Wisconsin Child Labor Law."
   Edward W. Frost, Chairman of the Wisconsin State Child Labor Committee.

The first meeting held in Philadelphia was under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, whose invitation brought together a most distinguished audience of at least twelve hundred people. President Rowe, in opening the meeting, referred sympathetically to the work of the National Committee, and pointed out what movements of this kind stood for in our national life. The addresses of Mrs. Kelley, Professor Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy are printed in full in this volume. That of Prof. Adler will probably be printed later in pamphlet form by the National Committee. Miss Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, gave a most clear and succinct account of the organization and work of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, and the arduous labor necessary before the new child labor law in Pennsylvania, approved May 2, 1905, was possible.

The provisions of this law, especially those with reference to the rather complicated requirements for employment certificates for children between fourteen and sixteen, were explained, and the necessity pointed out for the more vigorous prosecution of the violators of the law and for more strenuous efforts on the part of the Department of Factory Inspection. This meeting was followed by an informal reception tendered to the officers and members of the National Child Labor Committee by the American Academy.

The first regular session of the annual meeting was held at the New Willard Hotel, in Washington, on Friday afternoon, December 8th. From four to five hundred people were assembled in the beautiful auditorium on the tenth floor of the hotel. The Washington Committees had planned well every detail for the success of the meetings, and to these committees, composed of the following persons, is due much of their success:

Committee on Arrangements—Dr. George M. Kober, *Chairman;* Mrs. Joseph Weeks Babcock, Professor Alexander Graham Bell, Aldis B. Browne, John W. Douglass, Mrs. Fred T. Dubois, Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks, Mrs. Jacob H. Gallinger, Mrs. John M. Gitterman, Henry J. Harris, A. Lisner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. F. Macfarland, John R. McLean, Charles W. Needham, Charles P. Neill, Mrs. Robert L. O'Brien, Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. H. T. Rainey, George W. Scott, Dr. Z. T. Sowers, General George M. Sternberg, Professor C. W. A. Veditz, B. H. Warner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. West, Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Woodward.

Finance Committee—S. W. Woodward, *Chairman;* M. E. Ailes, C. J. Bell, Emil Berlimer, John Joy Edson, Martin A. Knapp, H. T. Newcomb, John B. Sleman, Jr., B. H. Warner, Simon Wolf.

Press Committee—Charles F. Weller, *Chairman;* William E. Curtis, Henry J. Harris, A. Maurice Low, G. A. Lyon, Robert L. O'Brien, Edgar D. Shaw, H. M. Suter, Jr., H. Parker Willis.

Secretary Bonaparte, representing the President's Cabinet, opened this meeting with a most earnest and sincere endorsement of the movement to abolish child labor. In appropriate words, he characterized the evils of child labor as among the most serious blemishes on our social and industrial life, and bade the National Committee God-speed in the task to which it had addressed itself. After these opening words from Secretary Bonaparte, the Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, representing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, gave the following address of welcome:

"No one could be more welcome to the national capital than you who come in the interest of the children of our country. Their appeal to our hearts is as strong as ever. All the world loves a child, as the celebration of Christmas will soon attest once more, even though all the world may not love a lover. All right minded fathers and mothers want their own children to have every advantage in life, and all right minded men and women broaden out this feeling to take in all children. We want the child to have full childhood. The 'vision splendid' fades all too quickly into the common day. The only true liberty, equality and fraternity, childhood's exclusive possession, turn all too soon into our common living. Moreover,

this economic age begins to see the economic necessity for protecting children. Not only does Mrs. Browning's 'Cry of the Children' quicken our heartbeats, but it quickens our minds with the thought of the economic waste of economic roots without which we cannot have economic fruits. Stunted children make stunted citizens. And stunted citizens make a stunted state. All our material wealth would be dearly purchased at the price of the labor of the children. And in a few generations we would lose not only that wealth, but our national life. Hence, under the compelling demand of the new industrial civilization, with its great and growing cities, comes the new legalization for the protection of child labor, which is fundamental to the protection of all labor and to the preservation of society. The District of Columbia is not an industrial or manufacturing community, no large number of children are employed here, and the more serious evils found elsewhere do not exist. But prevention is better than remedy, and we seek a law which shall be a model and shall take us out of the black list of states and territories which have no child labor laws. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have once more asked Congress to enact a bill drafted by them on the model approved by your committee, and are hopeful that it will be passed at this session of Congress, with any amendments that may be deemed necessary."

The addresses at this session following those of Secretary Bonaparte and Mr. Macfarland were given by Professor Adler, Professor Lindsay and Dr. McKelway. Dr. McKelway's admirable paper appears in full elsewhere in this volume. Those of Professors Adler and Lindsay will probably be printed later in separate pamphlet form by the National Committee. At the second session, held on Friday evening, after a few appropriate remarks by the chairman, Dr. Adler, three addresses were delivered, by Dr. Brooks, Mrs. Kelley and Mr. Lovejoy, all of which appear in full in this volume. A telegram was received from Mr. Gompers announcing that he was detained in New York, and his address, which was to have been a part of the evening's program, was postponed until Saturday afternoon, at which time his telegram announced he would be able to be with us. The addresses at the third session are all printed in full.

The three introductory addresses at the three sessions held in Washington by the chairman of the National Committee, Professor Adler, were as follows:

"Traveling abroad in Europe a year ago I was visiting the estates of a distinguished nobleman in Prussia. He was explaining to me the classification of labor on the estates. The skilled labor he said is done by experts, expert foresters and gardeners, the less skilled work is done by apprentices, and the hard work is done by women. I shuddered at the thought, but what he said is a fact.

"Perhaps in traveling through Germany on the train looking out through the window you, too, may have seen women stooping in the fields, digging and doing the hard work. And there is a well-known story about a peasant and his wife who came to a certain stream which had to be forded and the

woman stepped into the stream and carried the man across on her shoulders like a beast of burden. Now, we shudder at that, and say it is inhuman, it is un-American. But we, in our country, have allowed the little child to become a beast of burden and the adult to sit upon his shoulders and be carried across the stream.

"It is a strange fact which we have got to admit that in this land of freedom and humanitarianism, slavery has flourished, human slavery. Explain it as you will, this country which proudly boasts to be the most humanitarian in the world had for years and years this unenviable preeminence in wickedness. And it is this same humanitarian country of ours, this same humanitarian republic, that allows this modern form of slavery, child's labor, the most pitiful of all. Of the details there will be others to speak, and of the arguments. Indeed, I cannot help feeling every time that this matter is argued as if it were sheer humiliation to argue it, to argue and to prove that a little child of ten years or twelve years, or, if you will, of thirteen years, should not be exhausted by premature labor. They say that there are sixty thousand children under fourteen years to-day—more perhaps—in the textile mills of the South; sixty thousand under fourteen, and many of them doing night work. It seems to me humiliating to argue that a human plant of such tender years should not be required to bear fruit; to prove that it is a sin against mankind to exact precocious fruit-bearing of the human plant; that a child which is set to continuous physical labor and long physical labor in those early years when it should just grow, just absorb the sunshine and that the child which is put into the mill for ten long hours a day, that such a child is being stunted and crippled! Can we answer before our conscience before the world and before the Divine power why we allow it! Why we allow that a child instead of going to school shall grow up in ignorance, that its mind shall remain undeveloped and that instead of having a guarded home it shall be exposed to all the corrupting influences that are incident to an irregular life. Must I descend so far in the presence of the cultivated men and women sitting here in this national capital as to argue the elementary rights of the child, that the child should not be misused, that the adult should not sit on its back and use it as a beast of burden.

"And the evil is increasing. Here are our local Child Labor Committees; here is our National Committee, and we have done our best. We have done what little we can, the National Committee; and the local Child Labor Committees that have done far more than our National Committee has yet been able to do. Here are all these forces that have been at work; we have been trying to stem the tide, and the black fact is that all these forces have not only not availed, but that the tide is gaining upon us; that there is more child labor to-day than there was five years ago, more of it. So you will realize what I have said at the beginning that it is no lukewarm interest that brings us here, it is the feeling that we have for our task to strangle a snake that is coiling around the neck of the young child, that we have to abolish a new kind of slavery, that we have got to take action, not only to check a retreating evil, but we have got to use every power at our command to prevent the

steady increase, the steady and ominous increase of this disastrous and dangerous woe and wrong.

"I hope that this meeting will arouse an earnest interest in you all that here from the capital of the nation will radiate influence through the United States, and that your District of Columbia, though it is not an industrial center, will help us by setting for the country a standard which other parts of the United States may follow. And I hope that as a result of these meetings you will feel, each and every one, that you are called upon, whatever your other philanthropic interests may be, to become propagandists in this cause.

"And now, as to what finally the National Child Labor Committee intends to do. It is a national committee. It has the assistance in its work of light and leading men. Cardinal Gibbons is one of the members, Bishop Greer is one of the members, and it has some of the most eminent names in the country on its list of members, and it hopes with the help and countenance of men and women associated with it to put into the focus of national interest the necessity of the abolition, the total abolition, of child labor. It does not propose to interfere with local bodies, but to supplement their efforts, to be of use by encouraging legislation in those States which are without legislation or in which the legislation which has been passed is deficient. It proposes, above all, to bring it about that the laws which are passed shall also be enforced. Much of our legislation is excellent; many of the laws on our statute books can hardly be improved upon, and yet in the very States in which such laws exist we find that the evil is growing. Why is it growing? Because of our American weakness in trusting to legislation, trusting to the mere fact that the law exists, and not providing as we must the force, which shall put the law into constant operation. That force in the United States is public sentiment. To rally public sentiment on behalf of the abolition of child labor is the prime object of this conference which we have opened.

"It is hardly necessary to try to convince you that child labor is monstrous. If anyone needs to be convinced, there is one test which I would suggest. How would you like your own child not yet thirteen years of age, how would you like your own child, say eleven years of age, to be at work in the breakers? In place of arguing the question, picture to yourself some little child that is very close to your heart, a tender, undeveloped, loveable and beloved girl or boy, infinitely dear to you; think of that little girl or that little boy that means so much to you, at work in the mill or in the coal breakers, where, as Mr. Lovejoy told us, it is so dark that you cannot see five feet ahead—dark because of the dust. Think of your little girl in one of those textile mills in the South working night shifts. You know that your child's eyes begin to droop when night falls. At that hour you want your little one to be safely tucked in bed. You would think it monstrous if your little child should be forcibly kept awake till midnight. What then do you think of that other child's being kept awake all night, its eyelids drooping, its strength going from it, till it is hardly able to stand?

"There is an inspector in Cleveland of whom I learned from one of our

co-workers that he somewhat resented the agitation of the child labor issue because he claimed that Cleveland is free from the evil of premature child labor. Yet he convinced himself that he was mistaken. He investigated, and he found to his own amazement and horror that hundreds of children are employed in the sweat shops of Cleveland during the night. And what I gathered from his statement was this picture. A picture sometimes burns itself into the mind so that one cannot get rid of it; and ever since I have learned of his statement that picture has haunted me. The picture was that of a hundred, or more than a hundred, little folks, little bits of human beings, trudging through the streets of Cleveland in the gray dawn of the morning, coming home from work.

"Now, imagine any child of yours as one of that troop on which the gray dawn looks down. What is the difference between our children and those? Are we to say that the lot of life is differently apportioned? But surely not to that extent, surely not to the extent of bringing such misery and degradation into the lives of the very young. Let the pain and horror of seeing in imagination your own child as one of that troop going through the streets in the gray of the dawn, coming home from work; let that be with you, as it has been with me, and you will become propagandists in this child labor movement. Then I am sure that it is not you who need to be convinced, but that what we are here for is to take counsel as to how we may convince others. And there is no one who can give us better counsel than the proved and efficient worker in this cause, whom I am now going to introduce to you, Mrs. Florence Kelley.

"I have just a few words to say before I introduce to you the chairman of the afternoon and to apologize if I myself withdraw from the meeting. But I desire, before my participation in the public conferences ends, to put one point before you touching our committee and its work which we have considered in our private conferences, but which I feel has not yet been sufficiently emphasized in our public meetings, namely, this point: that we are combating a recurrent evil, if there be such a thing as periodicity to be remarked in the historic recurrences of certain great moral wrongs. For instance, Europe at the close of the middle ages had practically extinguished or very largely extinguished serfdom and human slavery. And then of a sudden new conditions occurred, of which the discovery of the American continent was the principal one, and behold slavery re-emerged on a scale and magnitude perhaps quite unequaled in the world's history.

"So, in the last century it was believed that through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and others the form of slavery which we call child labor, the exploitation of child strength—that this form of servitude had been abolished. And now we behold in the United States a recurrence of this condition on a scale and magnitude which gives occasion for the most profound alarm.

"The object of the National Child Labor Committee, therefore, is not merely to deal with an existing situation, but its larger purpose is to become a steering committee for the United States. One by one our great agricultural communities will wheel into line and become industrial communities, the agri-

cultural will pass into the industrial type of civilization, and then the temptation will always recur to secure a temporary advantage in the industrial world by exploiting the labor, the cheap labor, of the undeveloped child.

"We felt, therefore, on coming together to constitute this National Committee that the occasion for our efforts was not merely the necessity of equalizing the efforts of the local committees, the necessity of promoting the establishment of local State committees where they do not exist, but also that this committee is needed to be on guard, to be an ever vigilant factor for years to come in the economic life of the United States in order, if possible, to bring it about that the evils which history has shown to be incidental to the incipient stage of industrialism shall not be permitted to recur. This is the larger purpose of the National Committee, which ought to be clearly and definitely set forth at this conference.

"The meeting this afternoon has for its topic, new legislation, with special reference to the needs of the District of Columbia.

"I shall now ask the chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia, Dr. George M. Kober, to take the chair."

Three other events in connection with the Washington meetings deserve to be chronicled: (1) Two important executive sessions of the members of the National Committee and members of the State Committees present at this convention were held between the sessions, the first on Saturday morning at 9 o'clock, and an adjourned meeting on Saturday afternoon at 5 o'clock, at which important reports were presented from the several State Committees which threw much light on the child labor conditions in their respective states. A summary of these reports is given below. (2) The meeting of the National Committee and its guests in the executive office of the President of the United States, which occurred on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock. The President, with his usual courtesy, received the committee graciously, and likewise with his usual courage placed himself clearly on record in favor of the most stringent child labor legislation and the most earnest efforts to abolish child labor in the United States. He spoke approvingly of the plan of the National Committee to ask Congress to establish a national bureau in one of the executive departments of the government, to be known as the Children's Bureau, through which a scientific investigation of the problems of infant mortality, the birth rate, juvenile delinquency, illiteracy, child labor, and other allied questions might be made. There are many children's problems needing the special co-ordination in their study which only such a bureau, composed of proper experts, could give. (3) The dinner meeting of the members of the National Committee, Saturday evening, at the house of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the only resident member of the National Committee, at which the question of the proper steps looking to the establishment of the Children's Bureau was discussed.

On Sunday, December 10th, child labor meetings were held in many of the churches, in response to the invitation addressed by the National Committee to the pastors of the leading churches. Among the more notable addresses of this day were those given in the First Congregational Church, by

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy; in the First Unitarian Church, by Dr. Felix Adler; in the People's Congregational Church, by Dr. E. T. Devine, and in a Presbyterian Church, by Dr. A. J. McKelway.

At the joint executive meetings of the National and State Committees Dr. Lindsay presided, and at the opening session called first on Mr. Robert Hunter, the chairman of the New York Child Labor Committee, who opened the discussion with an outline of the work done by that committee and the plans it had in contemplation. Mr. Hunter said:

"We haven't brought an official report from our committee, because it was very difficult to have a meeting after we heard of the desire on the part of the National Committee to have reports of the various State Committees at this time. I can say, therefore, only certain general things that may be of interest.

"Our problem has gone beyond that of most of the states. The reason is that we have about as much legislation now as we are likely to get until the more backward states, that is, the southern states, are brought up more nearly to the standard of Massachusetts, New York, and a few other states which have been working longer for child labor legislation. About three years ago we managed to get our laws in what seemed to us about final shape for the time being. Since then we have made very little effort to get more advanced legislation, not that we think that the legislation of New York state is adequate or in any way model legislation; it is in nowise satisfying to those of us on the committee. But I do not think that we shall make in the next two or three years any very striking advance upon the position we now hold in the matter of legislation.

"After obtaining our legislation we found that we were getting little, if any enforcement of our laws. Although we have fairly satisfactory means of enforcement, the enforcement has been inadequate. It was almost as if we had no legislation whatever. I mean that there had been on the statute books some eighteen years a law prohibiting a child under fourteen years of age from working. That law was about as much ignored last year and a few years before as it was when it was first put in the statutes. In fact, the Commissioner of Labor of the state openly said that he could not enforce the law because there were so very few manufacturers familiar with it, and he thought it was a serious matter to enforce the law until the manufacturers were made more familiar with it. Until then he said he was inclined to be with those who violated the law. This was seriously stated, although the law was then fourteen years old.

"We had a very interesting fight in the matter, and fortunately we had the Governor on our side. He was disposed to treat the question as a matter of principle. And when we clearly demonstrated to him that the law was not being enforced, he refused to reappoint the delinquent Commissioner of Labor. Since then he has appointed another commissioner, who is not altogether acquainted with this kind of legislation, but he is a good man and a good type of public official. I think he is trying to do his best, and I am convinced that he will do some very effective work. Up to the present his

efforts have been very largely to acquaint himself with the conditions that exist, with the working force at his command, and with the legal aspects of the situation. He is so sincere that he is planning a number of changes in the law so as to make it more effective. I do not know now just what are his plans in this regard, so I cannot speak of them at this time. I don't know how many of the changes we shall be able to support, and it may be that we may have to be against him on some of the changes he wants. At any rate, at present we do not know what the coming Legislature, which opens the middle of January, will bring in the way of changes in the law.

"Our committee was the means of securing certain amendments to the laws last winter, which have since been found to be of decided assistance. The new evidence of age amendment has been enforced about nine months. By this change in the law, whenever parents cannot produce birth or baptismal certificates or other religious record originally required as proof that a child is fourteen years of age, the following proof that the child is fourteen may be accepted instead: (1) Any "other documentary evidence of age;" (2) a certificate of graduation from a public school or other school having an equivalent eight years' course. During the first six months that this amendment has been in operation fifty certificates have been granted under its provision. Of this number thirty-four children filed graduation certificates as proof of age. Evidence filed by the remainder included transcripts of Custom House records, vaccination certificates, foreign family record and transcripts of institutional records. Another amendment that our committee was instrumental in having passed was one which allows a factory or mercantile inspector to demand of the employer documentary proof of age in cases of children who claim they are sixteen years old. Commissioner Sherman, of the Department of Labor, has warmly commended this change, as it shifts the burden of proving the child's age from the department to the employer. Under the law hundreds of children have been discharged from factories who would otherwise have been able to continue to work illegally by claiming that they were sixteen.

"Now, there are one or two other things which we have undertaken to do which may interest the other states. We have been engaged very earnestly in trying to see if the law could be enforced, so that we have been working at various ends of the thing. In the first place, we have tried to make use of the compulsory education law. We have done everything we could to get the Board of Education to use this means to limit child labor. We found that a good many of the children leave school before they are fourteen years of ago and go to work, and that some of these children when they were turned out of the factories do not go back to school. They were either walking the streets or working in some other illegal employment. Altogether there are about a thousand children whose names we know, and probably there are a great many more whom we do not know. This matter has been brought before the City Superintendent of Schools, and an investigation will be made to see how many children are not in school, how many are idle on the streets and how many are illegally employed.

"Another interesting thing, which Miss Wald, I hope, will speak of more in detail, because it has been her work largely which has brought it into being, is the "scholarship fund" which has been raised. A member of our committee kindly gave a fund to the committee for the purpose of giving scholarships to those children whose families would be in distress if the children were not permitted to work. That, of course, is a serious matter in any state. We know it has been very much overestimated; and, as Mr. Lovejoy said last night, the professed interest of the employer in the welfare of widows and of poor children is largely hypocritical. They have no real interest in the children, and no real interest in the widows. They are employing the children solely for their own profit. While that condition has been very much exaggerated by the manufacturers, there is still this much trouble in it. There are in every state a certain number of families who really feel it necessary on account of their unfortunate economic position to send their young children to work. We intend to prevent the necessity for that. We realize the inadequacy of the small fund we can raise or give to supply temporary or permanent pensions to cover conditions of that kind. As has been said, there will probably come some time a movement to make the school fund or some other fund of the state bear the expense of these pensions.

"Those are the main things we are working on. Our effort now on all lines is to get enforcement of such laws as we now have.

"The newsboy law is very disappointing to us. It was so when the law was passed. The law was very carefully drafted, and was a rather complete law when it went before the Legislature. But it was altogether new. It was a law prohibiting street trading for certain classes of children and regulating street trading for other classes of children. The law was very bitterly opposed by a number of people who did not understand it, and who did not realize that there was any precedent for it. They believed it was very radical and very absurd legislation. So, through the influence of these rather powerful persons, in New York the law was very much mutilated, so much so that I remember saying to the Legislative Committee at the time the bill was under consideration that if they passed it in that form I knew it would not be enforced; indeed, that it could not be enforced. I may have stated that too strongly. We have gotten some little enforcement. But I think my point at that time was right. I don't believe the law as it now stands will ever be enforced. It may be possible in the coming Legislature to get some changes in this law. This last year the Commissioner of Police has appointed a squad of four policemen, plain-clothes men, to enforce the law; but even under this new arrangement the law is not being strictly enforced, although there has been some improvement. There have been about 500 arrests since the squad was appointed, last May, and perhaps in time we shall be able to make it—the mutilated law we have—work with some degree of satisfaction to ourselves.

"Another piece of work before our committee at this time is to attempt to get the school officials in the state to take a school census. New York

is behind many other states in the matter, although a statute put on the books in 1895 requires the taking of such a census every two years. No census has been taken, however, since 1897. Our committee is now urging upon the Board of Education the importance of the question as the best practical means of enforcing the compulsory education law."

Dr. Lindsay then called upon Miss Lillian Wald, who, like Mr. Hunter, is not only an active member of the New York State Committee, but also an active worker on the National Committee, asking her to report on the scholarship fund which the New York Committee administers to aid those unable to attend school and not eligible for employment certificates. Miss Wald addressed the meeting as follows:

"One of the members of the committee has presented to the New York Child Labor Committee the sum of $2500 a year for child labor scholarships. He has not committed himself to give this amount for any stated number of years, but at the same time, if it is needed, he has intimated that it will be continued for some time. The purpose of the donor in establishing these scholarships was to make it possible for the committee to prevent hardship to a family as a result of the child labor laws not allowing the child to work when its earnings were needed. Another object of the fund is to remove from the mind of the officials who are responsible for enforcing the law any tendency there may have been to make exceptions in the law's enforcement because of the plea of poverty in the child's family. The scholarship thus acts as a substitute for the child's illegal earnings, and at the same time prevents violation of the law in order to keep the family from suffering. The fund is very valuable for the experiment, and to really test how much truth there is in the popular claim that many widows or disabled parents are absolutely dependent for support upon the earnings of their young children.

"A sub-committee having this work in charge has been meeting almost weekly for the purpose of considering very carefully each individual application for a scholarship. Letters were first sent out to the principals and superintendents of schools, to settlement head workers, and to the Commissioner of Labor, extending an invitation to call to the attention of the secretary any instance where the law appeared to be working great hardship. It was evident, after a meeting or two of the committee, that this was also an invitation for the societies to unload on the committee. That was not, however, the purpose of the giver or of the special committee. The scholarship sub-committee has finally come to the conclusion that as a general rule cases will not be regarded as eligible for scholarships under fourteen years of age. No society in New York would deny that a child under fourteen is properly a care for philanthropic aid. But, as much of the criticism of the law was focussed on the difficulty by proving the child's age and meeting the educational standard, the committee believes that it is up to them to meet this criticism in a practical way. A great many cases that have come before the committee have proved not to be properly within the scope of the fund. The difficulty of getting the required evidence of age necessary to obtain an employment certificate has not been so great as was thought, as with some

personal effort on the part of the secretary in several instances the needed proof of age has been secured. It has been found that the acceptance by the officials who have charge of issuing employment certificates of "other documentary evidence" (allowed under a recent amendment of the law) has made it possible for many children to secure working papers who could not otherwise have done so.

"Since the announcement of our scholarship plan was made, about four months ago, 117 applications have been received and investigated, either by the committee or by representatives of the relief societies. Of this number eighty-three, or 72 per cent., were found not to be in need of aid. Of the remaining thirty-four cases help in the form of scholarships has been given in thirteen instances, while in the other twenty-one cases, in many of which the need was only temporary, assistance has been given by the various relief societies. The scholarships vary in amount from $1 to $3 a week, and extend over a period of from one to twelve months. The scholarship holders are required to present weekly at the office of the committee a card signed by the school principal certifying to their regular attendance at school. In cases in which the investigator has shown that there is no need of assistance a report to this effect is made to the principal, and by means of a 'tickler' system ten days later the case is followed up, to learn from the principal whether the child is again regularly attending school.

"I cannot give a full report, but it is extremely interesting as each case comes up to find the difficulties are not altogether insurmountable. In many instances the trouble is solved by referring the cases to one of the philanthropic societies, who have for some time been carrying the burden and are willing to carry it a little further. In other instances the solution of the problem is found by securing employment for the parents. In this manner, as well as by means of our scholarships, the purpose aimed at is attained; namely, to prevent the child becoming a violator of the law. The philanthropic societies, of course, have the privilege of coming under the limitation which the Scholarship Committee has placed upon its fund.

"I do not know anything further I can say now. The $2500 has not yet been exhausted, but when it is more widely known there will undoubtedly be as many cases as the fund can take care of. It is very difficult to properly and suitably investigate the applications, because, where the families have been self-respecting and perhaps have made efforts for many years to keep from applying to relief societies for aid, the Scholarship Committee believes that their dignity should be respected, and that the committee should try to make a private investigation. That, of course, will make additional expense to the committee, but so far the work has been done by volunteer visitors."

Mrs. Kelley: "You have not mentioned how many cases the philanthropic societies find it necessary to help in the support of children."

Miss Wald: "That is true, because in this, as in all other cases, it is impossible to enforce the law or to know just where we are without having a school census. The committee intends to bring this to the attention of the superintendents of philanthropic societies. In one instance four children

have been for five years under pension from a philanthropic society where the almoner had been going there regularly and never discovered that not one of the four children had ever been in school, although they were all born in America. The oldest, fifteen years of age, had been one week in school some years before. These facts have been brought to the attention of the superintendent of the philanthropic society, who did all within his power to have the children at school and the family supported.

"The next effort, in order to protect the superintendents of these societies, would be to have a system of reports from the school superintendents. Our committee is asking for the full measure of our bond. We are asking that not only the child shall bring a report that he is regularly attending school, but a similar card showing the attendance of his brothers and sisters is also required, so that we really get the worth of the scholarship—that is, that there may not be substitution of children."

The next speaker called upon was Miss Laura N. Platt, representing the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, who gave an interesting account ot the recent efforts in that state to secure the new Pennsylvania law. Miss Platt spoke as follows:

"Although the child labor features of the factory law as revised by the Legislature of 1905 did not accomplish all which the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee had worked for, and although the standard of legislation was not reached which is held up by New York and Illinois, a long stride has been made toward not only a higher standard, but toward effective regulation. The gain in standard is:

(*a*) Protection for all working children except those engaged in domestic or farm labor.

Against. Protection for only those engaged in factories and certain classes of stores and workshops.

(*b*) Prohibition of night work to all children between fourteen and sixteen years (excepting those employed in certain class of manufacture).

Against. No prohibition of night work.

(*c*) An advance in age limit at which children may commence work from thirteen to fourteen years.

The gain toward *effective* regulation is:

(*a*) Requirement of record evidence of age.

(*b*) The issuance of certificates by school authorities.

(*c*) The filing of duplicate certificates and record evidence in a central office, where the documents filed are open to the inspection of the public.

"A recount of the work of the Pennsylvania Committee prior to the introduction of its bill in the Legislature will give some idea of the foundation on which the committee worked, as well as its qualifications. The initial work of the committee was its investigation into child labor conditions, which covered, in time, four months. The investigation was so planned as

(1) to cover the sections of the state and localities where children are employed in the largest numbers; (2) to discover to what degree and in what respect the law failed to protect the children.

"In Philadelphia a probation officer gave three months to the investigation. She interviewed the children personally, as well as others who knew them as school children, club children, employees; who knew them at home and as friends. A resident of the east-central part of the state, and a well-known student and writer on labor conditions in his own locality, spent six months on a special investigation for the committee. A teacher of South Pittsburg, well acquainted with the children who worked in glass houses, gave a month to the investigation in that locality. The Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, also investigated and reported on the condition of children in glass houses in the western part of the state, in connection with the cross state investigation of the glass industry. His valuable report was placed at the disposal of the committee. A special investigation, undertaken for the committee, was made by the Public Education Association. The material collected showed that night schools are not a substitute for day schools, and that young children who work, either do not attend the schools or, if they do, receive little or no benefit, on account of the fatigue of their day's work. A dozen or more superintendents of schools, as well as superintendents of parochial schools; the officers of school boards; teachers of both parochial and public schools; Sunday-school teachers; between thirty-five and fifty leaders of working boys' and working girls' clubs; the residents of settlements in both the eastern and western part of the state; superintendents and visitors of charitable societies; eminent physicians, as well as physicians acquainted with the working people; manufacturers; managers of telegraph and district messenger offices and trade unionists were all consulted and all furnished the committee with data which threw light on the various phases of child labor. Aside from the expert testimony which the individual investigations brought together, the records of the Boys' House of Refuge were carefully examined, as well as the records of the court officers in the eastern and western part of the state. The records told, as nothing else could, the heavy cost of early employment. The Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education, at the suggestion of the committee, noted in its school census the kind of labor performed by children between thirteen and sixteen years.

"The results of the investigation were sent in to the secretary in the form of notes and schedules. One thousand schedules were filled in, some giving the history of a child and the others a few items of interest in connection with its age, work and schooling. From these notes and schedules the secretary compiled reports, which were printed in five pamphlets by the National Child Labor Committee. Each of these pamphlets gives some one phase of child labor as it exists in Pennsylvania. 'Illiteracy Promoted by Perjury' illustrates the importance of requiring record evidence of a child's age in place of depending on a parent's affidavit. 'Children Who Work at Night' is an account of the children on night shifts in the messenger service, glass houses, foundries, theatres and bowling alleys. The 'Unprotected

Children' are the working children who had not, previous to the enactment of 1905, been protected in their employment. 'Dependent Parents' answers the old-time inquiry whether the state shall allow the burden of supporting a family to fall on its youngest children. 'The Cost of Child Labor, a Study of Disabled and Delinquent Children,' does not estimate, but indicates the social loss through the employment of children. The Pennsylvania Committee also compiled and published a more popular presentation of the whole subject in an illustrated pamphlet called 'The Working Children of Pennsylvania.'

"When the greater part of the data had been collected, but four months before it was published, a sub-committee on legislation was appointed by the Executive Committee, for the purpose of drafting a bill. The measure recommended by the sub-committee was the result of careful consideration for three months of the findings of the investigation; of the experience of those directly and indirectly connected with the enforcement of the old law; and of the experience of other states. The Legislative Committee held conferences with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; various local superintendents of schools; grade teachers; the Chief Inspector of Factories and deputy inspectors; Chief of the Bureau of Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Chairman of the Committee on Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Superintendent of the Boys' House of Refuge; the Chief Probation Officer of Pittsburg; probation officers in Philadelphia, as well as manufacturers, trade unionists, and others unofficially but actively interested in the enforcement of the law.

"The bill was re-drafted twenty-two times and every detail carefully considered before it was finally presented to the Legislature by the representatives of the Executive Committee. The committee was fortunate in securing the criticism of one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the country, Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr., as well as the legal advice of such members of its committee as Hon. Lyman D. Gilbert and Mr. J. Percy Keating. The bill was an attempt, primarily, to secure three points: (1) A true age limitation, through certificates based on record evidence of age rather than on affidavits; (2) prohibition of night work for all children under sixteen years; (3) extension of legal protection to all children regularly employed in industry and commerce.

"The bill was introduced in the House and in the Senate and given a hearing before a House committee. The Legislative Committee in charge of all the child labor measures introduced decided to report no bill favorably until those interested in the legislation succeeded in effecting a compromise. The Textile Workers' Union of Philadelphia introduced what it called a child labor bill, which did not attempt to remedy the weakness in the old law which made impossible the enforcement of an age limitation. The bill introduced by the Factory Inspection Department was also defective on this point. The three groups of advocates of child labor legislation had failed to agree on a measure previous to the hearing, because they differed as to what was vital. Before the Legislature adjourned, however, the Department

of Factory Inspection and the Child Labor Committee agreed upon a compromise. This compromise was the bill signed by the Governor May 2d, 1905.

"The important work of the campaign and the work immediately responsible for the passage of the bill was done by Dr. Samuel McC. Lindsay, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. It was Dr. Lindsay's skillful handling of the situation at Harrisburg which gave Pennsylvania the new statute, of which it has been said: 'It is the most important law of its kind in the country, because it contributes to the welfare of the greatest number of children.'

"The work of the campaign carried on from the office of the Pennsylvania Committee, while playing no part in the successful issue of the law itself, was of importance from an educational point of view. The campaign will have aroused, it is believed, interest in the enforcement of the law and criticism of it which will be at once intelligent and effective.

"While the Legislature was in session the committee sent out over 9600 letters to individuals throughout the state, asking for their indorsement of the bill. Support of the bill was also urged upon local and county superintendents of schools as well as selected lists of teachers and on the officers of clubs and educational and philanthropic societies. Along with these letters, and in explanation of the necessity of the legislation which the committee advocated, 23,000 pamphlets were circulated and 6000 printed synopses of the bill. Arguments for the child labor bill were sent to all the important daily and weekly papers in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia.

"For reference during the campaign, a card index of all the members of the Legislature was compiled. This recorded the action of the various members during the past five years on bills of importance similar to the child labor bill. A committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which Mrs. Wilbur F. Rose was chairman, sent a circular letter to all the federated clubs of Pennsylvania. In answer to this appeal forty-three clubs endorsed the bill drafted by the committee.

"Meetings inaugurated by the Women's Clubs in Pittsburg stirred the interest of the people in the western section of the state.

"Since May 3d, when the new factory act became a law, the committee has undertaken the task of informing, in an unofficial way, all people interested in the enforcement of the law, whom the factory inspectors could not reach officially. As the new law became operative as soon as it received the signature of the Governor, these unofficial announcements were important as a prevention against the illegal issuing of certificates. Of special importance was a printed letter sent to notaries public, who, under the new law, are not permitted to issue certificates, but are required to administer the oaths. One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two of these letters were mailed directly to notaries, with printed extracts of the law. As it was impossible to secure a full list of names and addresses, the work was supplemented by a notice through the Associated Press. The committee also, at the suggestion of the State Superintendent of Schools, informed local superintendents and county superintendents of the passage of the law.

"The committee has had printed 5000 cards, which have been placed by the Bureau of Compulsory Education in all the school rooms and lower school halls in Philadelphia, and in 150 parochial schools. These cards, on the side turned to the wall, notify teachers of the new provisions, and on the other side children are told where certificates of employment are issued and under what conditions they may be secured.

"Extracts of the new law were mailed to thirty-six associations of manufacturers. In response to these notices requests have been received for 6299 copies of the law.

"Immediately after the passage of the law the Chief of the Factory Inspection Department appealed to the Pennsylvania Committee to draft a form for the employment certificates which would comply with the requirements of the new law. The draft now in use is a compromise draft of the form compiled by the committee and the Factory Inspection Department.

"As the committee was primarily responsible for the certificate features of the new law it had more clearly in mind, as to details, than any of the officials concerned with the issuing of the certificates, the details of the new requirements. As the law took effect immediately, the committee found it necessary to act, so far as its services were acceptable, as interpreter. The work of issuing the certificates from the Bureau of Compulsory Education was facilitated by the appointment in June of a deputy for that purpose, who had been for the ten months previous a clerk in the office of the committee. In July the annual convention of State Teachers' Association was held. During that convention it was discovered that the majority of superintendents of schools, on whom devolved the duty of issuing employment certificates, were anxious for advice and interpretation of the new law—which the representative of the committee was able to give them.

"Although this committee had no part in the successful passage of the law relating to children working in the mines, it was gratified that the United Mine Workers accepted, with some verbal modifications and higher qualifications, the bill which the Pennsylvania Committee had drafted and hoped to pass for the protection of the children in the foundries and other establishments."

Dr. Lindsay added to the report from Pennsylvania a statement concerning the recent decision of Judge Wheaton, of Wilkes-Barre, in which the employment certificate feature of the child labor law relating to mines was declared unconstitutional. The decision was due to defective wording of one section of the law, which, in Judge Wheaton's opinion, required an employment certificate from all minors employed in mines between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, whereas the intention of the law was to require such certificates only for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. That intent was expressed in a report to the Legislature of which the court might have taken cognizance, but it regarded the statute as a penal statute, and therefore subject to the strictest interpretation, and preferred to construe the law as applying to all minors. The fact that a different educational standard was required of those who could not present record

evidence of birth was, in the opinion of the court, an unjust discrimination, and hence the law was held to be unconstitutional. The Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee has appealed this case to the Superior Court and engaged legal counsel to test the validity of the decision just rendered.

The next committee to be heard from was that known as the Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts, which in a sense acts as a state child labor committee. This committee was represented by Howard W. Brown, Esq., of Boston, who reported on its work at the last session of the Legislature of Massachusetts. He said in part:

"What we did at the last session of the Legislature first of all related to the condition of illiterate minors under sixteen. An amendment was secured to the existing law doing away with the requirement that illiterates from fourteen to sixteen legally employed were obliged to attend night school, and in place of a requirement that only inflicted additional hardship upon the children was substituted the legal requirement that no illiterate under sixteen years of age may be employed in factories or mercantile establishments. The second piece of legislative work that the committee had in hand was to successfully combat an attempt to do away with the fifty-eight hour a week restriction for the working women and children under eighteen in factories and other establishments. There was a desire to suspend the operation of this clause during the period of the holiday season in stores. The committee considered this a dangerous exemption, and successfully defeated the proposed legislation."

For the coming year Mr. Brown stated that the committee had in mind an attempt to strengthen the legislative protection for children engaged at night by prohibiting the employment of all children under sixteen after 7 o'clock in the evening and before 6 o'clock in the morning, and another contemplated change in the factory law was to extend the fifty-eight hour law, now covering only factories, workshops and mercantile establishments, to all children under sixteen in all trades and occupations. This provision would benefit especially the messenger boys, and boys working in business houses, apartments, restaurants and hotels.

Mr. H. H. Jacobs, of Milwaukee, Wis., representing the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee, from whose chairman, E. W. Frost, Esq., a written report had already been sent to the meeting, was the next speaker. Both Mr. Jacobs, who spoke informally, and Mr. Frost, in his written report, called attention to the fact that the committee was organized on September 12th, 1905, consisting of sixteen persons, representing various sections of the state, to which additions will be made from time to time until the number reaches from twenty to twenty-five. The committee has already published a pamphlet concerning the child labor and factory laws of Wisconsin, giving the text of existing laws and preparing to enter upon an educational campaign for the extension of the law, and especially for the inclusion of an educational test. In the two years and a half that the present law has been in operation the committee estimates that at least one thousand children who were working illegally have been taken from such work. The new

requirements of the law as to permits and the ascertainment of the age of the children have worked well. The National Factory Inspectors' Association has pronounced it one of the best laws for practical enforcement, "because," says Mr. Frost, "of the fact that our laws provide a definite and practical way to ascertain the age of the child who applies for work. Inasmuch as the factory inspectors or other official to whom the child applies for a permit may, and do, demand either a verified birth certificate or a verified baptismal certificate or proper proof of the age of the child at the time of entrance into school. In the large percentage of the applications one or other of these requirements gives the child's correct age. There has been, naturally, trouble, as in the case of children of immigrants, who cannot produce either of these three proofs, and the factory inspectors here have demanded vaccination certificates, passports and other forms of record evidence. The enforcement of the law in Milwaukee is increasingly thorough, and in the state at large, in certain counties where its provisions are better known. There is, however, much ignorance on the subject. There is a great need of a proper educational test, and it goes without saying that there is much to be said in favor of an eight-hour day for children under sixteen, but I doubt the advisability of any such movement at present, although we may get public sentiment up to it by 1907. Some of the factory inspectors strain the law and refuse permits in cases of great illiteracy, although such permits could be obtained by going to the courts. There is an increasing disposition on the part of all Judges, who have also the right to issue permits, to send all applicants to the factory inspectors, of whom there are soon to be twelve in the state at large, or about one for every 200,000 people; still an insufficient number, though a great improvement on previous conditions. The next regular session of our Legislature is in January, 1907, and meanwhile we hope to stimulate public sentiment to the better enforcement of the law."

Mrs. Kelley, in commenting upon the report from Wisconsin, said that theoretically she thought that the provision of the Wisconsin law in practically placing the issuing of employment certificates in the hands of the factory inspectors was a bad one, that the duty of inspection should not be to inspect one's own work, and, furthermore, that the work that factory inspectors have to do in any community is too important and too vast in amount to permit of their time being taken up to issue certificates. Mrs. Kelley suggested that the issuing of certificates should be turned over to the educational or health authorities.

A written report from the state of Missouri was made by the Secretary of the Missouri Child Labor Committee, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, of Washington University, as follows:

1. *Recent Legislation.*—The laws concerning the labor of children in force in Missouri up to the year 1905 have prohibited the employment of children under fourteen years in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment where steam, water or any other mechanical power is used, or where the work to be done would, in the opinion of two reputable physicians, be dangerous to the child's health; have also prohibited the employment

of boys under twelve or females of any age in any mine, and the employment of boys under fourteen in any mine unless able to read and write; and have also provided that no person having the care of any child under the age of fourteen shall "in any manner sell, apprentice, give away, let out, or otherwise dispose of such child to any person in or for the vocation or occupation of singing, playing on musical instruments, rope or wire walking, dancing, begging or peddling," or as a gymnast, or for any immoral purpose or exhibition, or in any business or vocation "injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child, or cause, procure, or encourage any such child to engage in such occupation."

These last provisions of the law would apparently make it possible to prevent children from being employed in any sort of peddling and in unhealthful or dangerous trades; but this part of the statutes has never been so construed, and has served only to diminish the use of children in public exhibitions of a dangerous or immoral character. The enforcement of these laws has been entirely in the hands of the state factory inspector and his assistants, whose duties require them also to secure the enforcement of the other multifarious state laws relating to factories.

During the last session of the Legislature a compulsory education law was adopted, which requires that all children under fourteen shall attend regularly some day school (public, private or parochial) not less than one-half of the entire school session; and further contains the following sections relating to child labor:

"No child between eight and fourteen years of age shall be employed in any mine, factory, workshop, mercantile establishment, or in any other manner, during the usual school hours, unless the person employing him shall procure a certificate from the superintendent or teacher of the school he attended, stating that such child attended school for the period required by law, or has been excused from attendance as provided in section two; and it shall be the duty of such superintendent or teacher to furnish such certificate upon application of the parent, guardian or other persons having control of such child entitled to the same. Every owner, superintendent or officer of any mine, factory, workshop or mercantile establishment, and any other person who shall employ any child between eight and fourteen years of age contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined for each offense in a sum not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars and costs."

The appointment of truant officers for the enforcement of the compulsory education law is left optional with local Boards of Education, and such officers will probably be appointed only in the large cities. Duly appointed truant officers have power to enter factories and business houses to ascertain whether any children who should be in school are being employed there. The law thus has the effect, where put into operation, of prohibiting all labor of children under fourteen years of age in the day time during at least the first half of the school year. The St. Louis Board has appointed five truant officers, and the law is being vigorously enforced in that city. The effect

during the first two months since it went into effect has been to increase greatly both the enrollment and regularity of attendance in the public schools, and to reach a considerable number of children employed in forms of labor not covered by the older child labor laws. Thus the truant officers have taken a number of boys under fourteen from the messenger service, and placed them in school. The new law will probably continue to be of considerable service in this respect.

2. *Deficiencies of Present Missouri Laws.*—The most notable deficiencies of the Missouri legislation on child labor are the following:

(*a*) The laws do not apply to a sufficient number of trades; in particular, they permit children to be employed during a large part of the year in certain sorts of work highly injurious to health or morals.

(*b*) They contain no special provisions in regard to night work.

(*c*) They do not restrict the total hours of labor per week for all children under sixteen.

(*d*) They permit the exemption of children in the case of "extreme poverty of the parent."

(*e*) They place the burden of proof in respect to the child's age upon the factory inspectors.

(*f*) The appropriation for the factory inspector's office does not permit the employment of a sufficient number of inspectors to visit factories with sufficient frequency and unexpectedness to prevent a considerable evasion of the child labor statutes by employers so inclined. The provision that the opinion of two reputable physicians may be taken as evidence that a given sort of work would be injurious to the health of a child appears to be construed to mean that no work is injurious which any two physicians will swear that they believe to be not so.

3. *Organization for Improvement of Conditions.*—A meeting was held in the Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, on May 12th, 1905, at the call of the Secretary of the National Committee, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, at which an organization was formed for agitating the question of child labor in Missouri and for securing the adoption of an improved law by the next Legislature, which meets in 1907. A state committee was created, which is at time of writing composed as follows:

N. O. Nelson, President of the Nelson Manufacturing Company, St. Louis, Chairman; Mrs. Philip N. Moore, President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Vice-Chairman; A. O. Lovejoy, Professor of Philosophy in Washington University, Secretary; Miss Mary E. Perry; Rev. J. W. Day, minister of the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis; H. Steinbiss, General Secretary of the International Building Trades Council.

This committee has power to increase its membership, and will eventually be a committee of ten. The committee's duty will be to promote the organization of local committees in the cities and towns of the state, to make investigations into the conditions in the several trades not now adequately reached by the existing child labor laws, and to secure public support for the improved bill which will be presented to the Legislature in 1907. The women's clubs

of the state are taking an active interest in the matter, and an effective system of co-operation between those clubs and the State Committee is now being arranged. The plans and the investigations of the committee are not as yet sufficiently matured to justify a more detailed report at this time.

Informal verbal reports of the situation in Iowa and Oregon were made by the Chairman, Dr. Lindsay, who had recently visited those states.

Dr. A. J. McKelway presented a report from the southern states, referring to the work done by several of the State Committees that have been organized in the South. Dr. McKelway said:

"In regard to the situation in the whole South to-day, I believe that conditions are worse now than they have been, in spite of some remedial legislation that has been adopted. The cotton mill industry is growing by leaps and bounds, while at the same time the price of raw cotton is high, and thus there is strenuous competition in the labor market between the factory and the farm. In this pressing demand for labor the children are being employed in greater numbers than ever before in the factories.

"Taking up the states one by one, Virginia has a pretty fair law on her statute books, prescribing a ten-hour day for children under fourteen, forbidding night work for children under fourteen, and forbidding the employment of children under twelve in any manufacturing, mechanical or mining operation. There is no provision for factory inspection, however, and the belief is general that the law is not enforced. The Labor Commissioner in Virginia hopes to have a law passed by the next Legislature, which meets in January, 1906, giving him the authority for the inspection of factories and the enforcement of the law. A state child labor committee is now being organized in Richmond among the friends of our cause.

"North Carolina has a twelve year age limit, but the same difficulty with regard to factory inspection and legal enforcement. A strong State Committee has been organized in North Carolina, with Raleigh as headquarters, which will push the matter of amending the law before the North Carolina Legislature, which meets in January, 1907.

"South Carolina has now an age limit of twelve years, but with exceptions which really reduce the age limit to ten. A strong State Committee has been organized in South Carolina, which will advocate before the South Carolina Legislature, meeting in January, 1906, the appointment of a factory inspector, the raising of the age limit to fourteen for girls and for boys who cannot read and write.

"An interesting letter from Rev. W. H. Mills, Secretary of the State Committee, states that the present law is little else than a dead letter.

"The Legislature of Florida failed to pass the child labor bill at its meeting last spring. A letter from Rev. John G. Anderson, of Tampa, Fla., a member of our committee, who had charge of the bill, attributes its defeat to the confusion of the closing hours of the session. The bill passed the Senate unanimously, and a conference committee from the two Houses had recommended its adoption. The bill was opposed by the cigar manufacturers and the canning industries, and Dr. Anderson reports that the evil of child

labor in the cigar factories is on the increase. It is hoped that a better law can be passed at the next Legislature, which meets in the spring of 1907, than the one which was defeated in the last.

"Georgia is still without a child labor law. After a hard fought campaign last summer, in which the whole state was aroused as never before, the bill which passed the House by forty-one majority failed by four votes of passing the Senate. The Georgia Child Labor Committee was reorganized during the year, with an Executive Committee in Atlanta and representation throughout the state. The Georgia Legislature meets every summer, each having two annual terms. It is possible that a bill can be passed at the coming term of the same Legislature which defeated the last bill, but it is confidently believed that the popular interest in the cause will secure the passage of an adequate law by the Legislature of 1907.

"The Alabama Child Labor Committee, which had the honor of passing the first child labor law in the South is beginning a campaign of agitation for the amendment of the law providing for factory inspection and enforcement. I have an interesting letter here from Judge N. B. Feagin, of Birmingham, Ala., who describes the political situation now existing, and believes that in the conflict of opposing forces there is hope for the passage of a child labor law for Alabama.

"Mississippi has no child labor law as yet, though the child labor evil is a slight one in that state, as a large majority of the population is rural and there are only twenty-one cotton factories in the state. An effort will be made to organize a Child Labor Committee in January, and to promote the passage of the bill through the Legislature which meets in that month.

"The Legislature of Louisiana, at its last session, defeated an amendment to the present law which would have rendered it much more effective. Much interest in the cause has been aroused in the state, and the effort at amendment will be renewed at the coming session of the Legislature.

"I have no reports from Texas or from Arkansas.

"The activity of the factory inspector in Kentucky has been noticeable of late, and several prosecutions for violations of the existing law will undoubtedly make it more respected than it has been. The Kentucky law has an age limit of fourteen for children working in factories and mines, and also a compulsory education law.

"Tennessee has the same age limit of fourteen, but a letter from Chancellor Kirkland, of our committee, indicates that the law is not adequately enforced. An effort will be made to organize a State Committee in Nashville in January, 1906."

A strong delegation from Maryland was present. The Vice-Chairman of the Maryland Child Labor Committee, Mrs. John M. Glenn, presented a most interesting verbal report, telling of the recent organization of that committee and of the investigations made by the Consumers' League and the efforts made to frame a child labor law to be presented at the coming session of the Maryland Legislature, looking to the adoption of a child labor law covering the entire state. Mrs. Glenn said:

"We have a child labor law on the statute books applicable to children under fourteen years of age, but there is no machinery provided for its enforcement. It applies to only four counties in the state, and it exempts the canning industry and the children of widowed mothers. We want a law to cover the entire state and all its industries. If we cannot begin with the fourteen year standard, we will start with less, and if possible secure adequate enforcement and investigation, so as to be in a stronger position two years hence to raise our standard."

Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the District of Columbia Citizens' Child Labor Committee, reported on the work of that committee and the difficulties it had encountered in arousing sufficient interest in Congress to get any legislation on the subject at all. The committee is very anxious to have the District of Columbia removed from the black list of communities in which there is no child labor legislation.

Mr. Lovejoy reported informally for the states of Michigan and Ohio, in both of which State Committees have been recently organized.

The following is a list of the general or state child labor committees, with the names and addresses of their chief officers:

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

Buffalo (N. Y.) Committee on Children.—Hon. George A. Lewis, Buffalo, Chairman; Porter R. Lee, Buffalo, Secretary.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.—Dr. George M. Kober, 1600 T Street, Northwest, Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

Georgia Child Labor Committee.—Ex-Governor Allen D. Candler, Gainesville, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 16 Houston Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

Hull House Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Ill., Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. H. Van der Vaart, Secretary.

Iowa Child Labor Committee.—Professor Isaac A. Loos, Iowa City, Chairman; Hon. Edward D. Brigham, Des Moines, Secretary.

Maryland Child Labor Committee.—Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Chairman; H. Wirt Steele, 101 West Saratoga Street, Baltimore, Secretary.

Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts.—Edith M. Howes, 415 Marlborough Street, Boston, Chairman.

Michigan Child Labor Committee.—Professor Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Chairman; Luman W. Goodenough, Detroit, Secretary.

Missouri Child Labor Committee.—N. O. Nelson, Eighth and Charles Streets, St. Louis, Chairman; Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, Washington University, St. Louis, Secretary.

New Jersey Child Labor Committee.—Hugh F. Fox, Plainfield, Chairman; Miss Florence D. Dale, Montclair, Secretary.

New York Child Labor Committee.—Robert Hunter, 88 Grove Street,

New York, Chairman; George A. Hall, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, Secretary.

North Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Hubert A. Royster, Raleigh, Chairman; C. L. Coon, Raleigh, Secretary.

Ohio Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, 19 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Chairman; Wallace E. Miller, Columbus, Secretary.

Oregon Child Labor Commission.—H. G. Kundret, 232½ Washington Street, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. B. H. Trumbull, 921 Corbett Street, Portland, Secretary.

Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee.—Hon Lyman D. Gilbert, Harrisburg, Chairman; Scott Nearing, 708 North American Building, Philadelphia, Secretary; George Woodward, M.D., North American Building, Philadelphia, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Rhode Island Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Gardner, of Brown University, Providence, Chairman; Miss Conington, Secretary.

South Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Rev. W. H. Mills, North Augusta, Secretary.

Tennessee Child Labor Committee.—Dr. James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chairman; Rev. G. W. Bull, Secretary.

Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.—Edward W. Frost, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Chairman; H. H. Jacobs, University Settlement, Milwaukee, Secretary.

The closing session of the annual meeting, constituting the supplementary session held in Chicago on December 16th, was presided over by the Governor of Illinois, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, who referred to the excellent record made by the comparatively limited force of factory inspectors in Illinois. The Governor said:

"I have been invited to act as presiding officer, not to speak, and I shall observe the rules of hospitality. It is fortunate for this audience, and I believe also fortunate for the state, to have a meeting of this kind in this church. It is still more fortunate that we have speakers of national reputation who will present the cause of children to the people here to-night and to the greater public to-morrow. Those who will speak to you have acquired a familiarity with their subject by actual work rather than through study alone. Illinois has a good child labor law, but we are handicapped in the enforcement of it by the fact that there are only seven women inspectors and eleven men inspectors. Last year, however, over fifty-five thousand inspections were made, and by means of this department the school attendance in Chicago was increased eight thousand within the year. I believe that the next General Assembly will come to the aid of this department and enlarge it and enable us to appoint inspectors who will see that the children are protected in this state."

A large and enthusiastic audience welcomed the speakers whom the Governor introduced, the first of whom was Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, in whose church the meeting was held. Dr. Hirsch made the following brief address of welcome:

"This house has greeted often movements of great and deep importance for the community at large, as well as for the nation, but I dare say we had never the pleasure of being hosts at a movement that is nearer to our hearts than the one that will be presented to you to-night. In our own old literature the injunction is often repeated that the child shall not be burnt at the altar of Moloch. While no bones whiten to-day the Valley of Hinom, in Jerusalem, we cannot claim that the Moloch has to-day no altar and no shrines on this wide globe. Mines and mills, factories and fields are worshipping that old hideous idol and in the service of him, which is the service of selfishness, child life is sacrificed without concern, further than in calculation that it is profitable, in the sense in which profits are reckoned in business and in the market; but even in terms of commercial success child labor is most expensive. It is short sighted to claim that sound business principles are in favor of consuming these children at the shrine of the Moloch of commercial success. Our hill tops are bared to-day, and why? Because of our short sighted policy we have acted on the principle that the present generation need have no thought of those that come after. *'Apres nous le deluge;'* if the deluge come after us what do we care, and we will engage in robber tactics, in countenancing the burning of children at the shrine of Moloch.

"These children are the future men and women; as they are so will be the nation. Stunted in their growth, deprived of mental development, immoralized, their souls touched by the fires of lust, their sense of human decency burnt away, these children will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation, and we all can easily foresee the result. Whatever be our policy of life, whether we believe that selfishness is finally decisive in the struggle that wages in every field of human activity, whether we believe that there is a higher law of responsibility that cannot be ignored, and if ignored will visit dire retribution on those that ignore it, or whether a tender sentiment touch our heart, we must, from whatever point of view we approach this question, agree that this Moloch service of children with the smoking fires and burning mines shall cease, and the sooner the better. Good business policy, good patriotism, humanity and submission to the highest law of morality demand that it shall cease."

The other addresses of the evening, by Professor Adler, Mr. Frost, Professors Lindsay and Taylor and Miss Addams, are all, except that of Professor Adler, published in full in this volume. The Committee of Arrangements for the Chicago meeting was composed of the following persons: Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Edgar T. Davies, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Stanley McCormick, Graham Taylor, Mrs. Harriet M. Van der Vaart.

At the closing session in Washington the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the National Child Labor Committee, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, made a statement to the effect that about $20,000 per annum would be necessary to carry on the propaganda planned by the National Committee. He spoke of the interest manifested by those who have written or who have sent money from quarters from which it was not expected. He

said that he believed that this amount of money and much more could be spent effectively in helping to lighten the burdens of childhood, and that it would come back many fold in the future. He closed with an appeal to those who are interested in this subject to enlist the active co-operation of every worker, and, if possible, of those who can give of their substance to the financial support of the work of the National Committee and of the several state and local committees.

Civic Organizations and Municipal Parties

A Symposium on

Reform Organizations in

Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Mo., Denver, Los Angeles, Seattle.

PHILADELPHIA

CITY PARTY.

By William Clark Mason, Esq.

On the 7th of last November the fusion forces in Philadelphia, led by the City Party, after a campaign such as had never before been seen in our city, polled 148,000 votes against 100,000 cast for the regular Republican organization, the candidates of the City Party being elected by a clear majority of 48,000 votes.

As soon as the "Organization" had recovered from the shock of defeat, the prophets found their voice, and it was very generally stated that this victory for the City Party was the result of a spasm on the part of the public, and that before very long the eminently respectable citizens would go to sleep, and the "Organization" would come to its own again. But for once the prophets misjudged the sentiment of the people. The organization of the City Party successfully withstood the temptations which come with victory, and maintained intact its membership in the various wards.

The municipal election which was held on the 20th of this past February was the anniversary of the first contest in which the City Party engaged, and was regarded by all to be the test of the strength of the City Party. At this time there was nothing unusual to arouse the interest of the voters; there were none of the dramatic elements present which attended the November campaign, and the managers of the Republican organization predicted a victory of at least forty thousand for their candidates. The offices to be filled were those of Magistrate, to be elected by the city at large; members

of Select Councils in sixteen wards; members of Common Councils in eleven wards; school directors and election officers in all of the forty-three wards of the city. In those wards where there was a councilmanic contest an energetic campaign was waged, and in some wards where the school directors presented the only issue the lines between the City Party and the Republican organization were clearly drawn—but in none of the wards was there the same personal interest of all the independent voters that was shown in the November campaign. The burden of carrying on the February fight fell upon the "workers" of the City Party in the several divisions. The campaign lasted about four weeks, and instead of red fire and sensational newspaper support which aided much in November there was the sober personal argument of the earnest adherents of the City Party, interested in obtaining the proper type of men as municipal servants. When the polls had closed and the votes were counted, in spite of the fact that the total vote cast was less by 50,000 than it was in November, the candidate for Magistrate on the City Party ticket received a majority of 11,000 over the candidate of the Republican organization. Out of sixteen Select Councilmen to be elected the City Party elected eight, and also elected eight Common Councilmen out of the thirteen voted for, in addition to 234 school directors out of a total of 516.

In February, 1905, the City Party failed to carry a single ward; in November, 1905, the candidates of the City Party carried twenty-eight wards, while in the recent election the City Party carried eighteen wards for school directors and twenty-two wards for Magistrate. The most important feature of the victory, however, is that the City Party elected the majority or minority election officer in nearly every one of the eleven hundred election divisions in the city, thus ensuring an honest conduct of elections for the period of at least one year. The control of the elections boards has been the source of greatest power for corruption and fraud on the part of the Republican organization in the past, and with this element of strength eliminated from the "Organization," it only remains for the independent citizens to cast their votes at the ensuing elections to assure the election of the candidates of the people.

The success of the City Party in February means that the victory in November was not a mere outburst of enthusiasm due to the emotions of a day and the glare of red lights. It means that the people of Philadelphia have seriously and soberly expressed their will that the government of our city shall be retained in the hands of the citizens, and that the public servants shall represent their constituents and not a group of public service corporations or municipal contractors.

The effect of this second victory of the City Party will be shown when the City Councils organize in April, and from present indications it would seem likely that, although the Councilmen elected by the City Party are in the minority in both branches of Councils, the president of both branches will be elected from the supporters of the City Party. The fact that this is possible shows that members of the old organization appreciate that the

people are aroused and will insist that their will be obeyed. It means that once more the people shall have a government which shall be representative of the majority instead of the minority, and that the day is not far distant when every citizen shall be an active participant in the government of the municipality of which he is a member. The result will be a higher type of public officials, more intelligent legislation, and more efficient administration of all departments of the government, to the betterment of the moral and physical welfare of the entire community.

BALTIMORE

a REFORM LEAGUE.
b MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By SOLOMON BLUM, Johns Hopkins University.

Baltimore's political position, while not unique among our large cities, is certainly unusual in that the question of corruption in our civic life has not been predominant for the last decade or more, nor has any new problem such as municipal ownership assumed sufficient proportions to cause the formation of a municipal party antagonistic to the two old parties. The interest has shifted to a great degree from the political to the economic field. As a consequence, civic organizations and third parties do not play the conspicuous part in Baltimore's political life that they do in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

In every municipal campaign within recent years citizens' organizations have been formed either by the party machines or by Independent Democrats, Independent Republicans or by "Simon Pure" Independents for the purpose of aiding some candidate or measure. Frequently their campaigns are carried on with great vigor through the press, by public meeting and by direct canvass of the voters.

After the elections these organizations disband. At times they have exerted considerable influence. In the recent election the Democratic Anti-Amendment Association opposed the proposed constitutional amendment which was being fathered by the Democratic organization, and was one of the potent factors in its overwhelming defeat. In the elections which resulted in the passage of the bills authorizing the issue of municipal bonds an organization of Independents was influential.

The Baltimore Reform League, which I described in some detail in the March, 1905, ANNALS, is supposed to be entirely non-partisan. It is a small compact organization composed of many of the most valued citizens of Baltimore, and maintains its influence because the great body of the citizens believe in the sincerity of its purposes and have confidence in the men who are at its head. The chief work of the league at present is to investigate the

qualifications of judges of elections and to bring before the Supervisors of elections the results of its labors.

It is probable that if any crisis in our political situation should arise this body would become, as it has been in the past, the nucleus for the independent movement in the city. At present any positive policy which it may have has been subordinated to its efforts to promote pure elections.

The Municipal League of Baltimore was organized in February, 1905. Its purpose is somewhat similar to that of the reform leagues. Its methods are different, however. A call was issued to one hundred citizens supposed to represent the various elements of our population irrespective of political affiliation. The attempt was then made to enlist the support of as many voters as possible by the circulation of petitions. As no obligation was incurred by signing this petition, the number of signers was not in any sense an adequate index of the league's strength. The league then started an investigation of the councilmanic candidates of both parties; and in an elaborate report given to the press the qualifications of the candidates were set forth. In the primaries which followed the league was not as influential as its organizers had hoped it to be. And in the election the results were not more promising for its future influence. It is too early, perhaps, to state with certainty either the future policy or influence of the league.

There are two reasons which make the formation of a municipal party particularly difficult. In recent years, owing either to the improved election laws or to an actual increase in numbers, the Republican party has been able to make a vigorous contest both for the Mayoralty and for members of the Council. In two instances it elected its Mayoralty candidate, and in the last campaign the result had to be decided by the courts. This has put both parties upon their mettle, and has prevented the evils of one-party domination which have afflicted other cities. This, too, has made the independent voter a factor to be counted on and catered to by both parties. The most distinctive feature in our municipal life is the importance of the negro vote. Of all our large cities Baltimore has, next to Washington, the largest negro population in the country, and by far the largest effective negro voting population. Of the registered voters October, 1904, there were, of a total of 119,271, 17,880 negroes, or about 15 per cent. of the registered vote. This vote is almost solidly Republican and the most immobile of any class of the population. No third party could hope to change the allegiance of the negro vote. As a consequence, any such party would be looked upon by the Democrats, who might otherwise have been attracted to it, as an adjunct to the Republicans, and, in fact, it would be so. It seems, therefore, that unless both of the present parties become hopelessly corrupt or incompetent or the demand for some special reform as municipal ownership becomes crystallized into a great civic desire which both parties refuse to satisfy, the prospect for the success of a municipal party is decidedly remote.

BUFFALO

a REFERENDUM LEAGUE.
b MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By Robert S. Binkerd, Secretary Municipal League of Buffalo.

The Municipal and Referendum Leagues took an active part in the municipal election of last November. The Referendum League ran three unsuccessful independent candidates for Alderman, and secured the submission on the voting machines of the question, "Shall the City of Buffalo own a municipal electric lighting and power plant?" About 12 per cent. of the citizens voted on the proposition, four-fifths of the vote cast being in the affirmative.

The Municipal League followed the well-known Chicago plan and ran no independent candidates, but investigated and published the records of party candidates. Of twelve candidates for Alderman recommended six were elected. Notable victories were secured in the defeat of two boodle candidates for nomination in the Sixth and Twenty-fifth Wards, while in the final elction an indicted boodle Alderman in the Fifth Ward was defeated. The greatest victory, however, was the defeat of "Honest John" Martin, of the Twentieth Ward, one of the worst figures in the Common Council. His former plurality of 656 was changed to defeat by 45 votes.

Out of thirteen candidates for supervisor recommended six were elected, and at the primaries the former leader of the Republican gang was defeated for renomination. The independent conduct of the new supervisors has had a tonic effect on that board.

The league set out to elect one assessor and to defeat another, and succeeded. The recommended candidate received the highest vote cast,39,000, and the condemned candidate the lowest vote cast, 23,000.

For Councilman the league recommended only two candidates, one of whom received the highest Councilmanic vote cast, the other running at the head of the Republican Councilmanic candidates. Both of the league's recommendations for morning justice were elected by large majorities.

No attempt has been made to organize a distinctly municipal party. The idea of independent voting in municipal elections is just beginning to take hold of Buffalo, which is not yet sufficiently awakened. The presence of about 80,000 Poles and 20,000 Italians creates a serious problem, while the large German vote moves slowly to independent action.

The Municipal League is a permanent organization, carefully watches the work of the city and county governments, keeps up to date the records of all officials, and stands ready at any time to crystalize public sentiment and action against bad measures.

CINCINNATI

a CITIZENS' MUNICIPAL PARTY.
b HONEST ELECTION COMMITTEE.

By MAX B. MAY, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The only city organization that has participated actively in municipal elections is the Citizens' Municipal Party, which was organized in the spring of 1903 in the municipal election of that year, nominating a municipal ticket. That party was supported by the Democratic organization, but the ticket was not successful. The Citizens' Municipal Party aims to be entirely independent and to bring about a total separation of national, state and municipal politics, but owing to the fact that in 1904 the spring elections which had heretofore occurred in Ohio were abolished and the elections this year were held on the same day that the state and county elections took place, the Citizens' Party as such was unable to nominate a ticket of its own, and therefore co-operated with a Democratic party by endorsing the municipal ticket, which was successful.

On November 7, 1905, there took place in Cincinnati one of the most important elections in her history. For many years past the city and county have been under the domination of the Republican machine. In the spring of 1903 there was nominated against the Republican city ticket the Citizens' municipal ticket, which was defeated by a majority of 15,000. In the county and city election in the fall of 1903, and in the Presidential election of 1904, the Republican majority in the county was so large that there seemed little hope of dislodging the machine. So confident were the Republican leaders that, during the legislative session of 1904, there was passed a bill abolishing spring city elections and providing that the next city election should take place in the fall of 1905. In Hamilton county there was nominated in the last week of September the usual city and county ticket. The leaders of the City Municipal Party, seeing that the only chance of success lay in the nomination of a strong Democratic ticket, wisely agreed to lend its support to this ticket. One of the strongest Democrats in the city, Judge Edward J. Dempsey, was nominated for Mayor. At the time of the nomination it seemed almost of an herculean task to overcome the Republican majority of 1904, which amounted to 42,000 in the county and some 36,000 in the city. However, all friends of good government united in this great task, and a victorious and aggressive campaign was begun. The Republican organization did nothing. The Times-Star and the Commercial-Tribune and the Republican German papers made a vigorous campaign on behalf of the ticket. The only support the Democratic ticket received in the way of active campaign work was from the Evening Post and the Citizens' Bulletin, a small weekly that has appeared regularly since the spring of 1903. The prospects did not seem the brightest, but when the citizens of Cincinnati, Sunday morning, October 21, read in the Cincinnati Enquirer (the only morning paper in Cincinnati that carried the speech in full) the great speech of

the Secretary of War, Honorable William H. Taft, that had been delivered the day before at Akron, Ohio, in which he stated that if he were in Cincinnati he would vote against the Cox municipal ticket, every one felt that the knell of the Cox reign had been sounded. From that time on the work in favor of the Democratic ticket became more aggressive, and it was in the air that Judge Dempsey and the entire Democratic ticket would win. At the election held in November last this prediction was verified, Judge Dempsey being elected by a majority of nearly 7000, and the county ticket, with the exception of Probate Judge, was elected by a majority of 6000; the Republican state ticket only carried Hamilton county by majorities of less than 500.

The defeat of the Cox machine is not entirely complete, because the City Council is still Republican, but there are not enough Republican votes to override the Mayor's veto.

Of course, the question now asked by every one is what will the Democrats do with their victory? This remains to be seen. The Legislature that meets in January next, though Republican by a small majority in the House, will be called upon to enact some very important remedial legislation, such as a new ballot law. An effort will be made to have the state adopt the pure Australian ballot. Should this be done, the friends of the ballot and of good government expect to repeal the Dana law, which prohibits the candidate's name from appearing more than once on the ballot. The Legislature will also be called upon to enact a civil service bill for the state, county and city, and the local branch of the National Civil Service Reform League is now preparing such a bill.

Two important constitutional amendments were adopted at the November election—the one exempting from taxation all bonds of the state of Ohio, bonds of any city, village, hamlet, county or township in the state, and bonds issued in behalf of the public schools of Ohio and the amount of instruction in connection therewith, and the other amendment provides that hereafter municipal elections shall be in odd years and county and state elections in even years. The adoption of this amendment will give the Ohio cities a separate municipal election.

The Citizens' Municipal Party, now that municipal elections are to be held in odd years by constitutional amendment, is endeavoring to organize on a permanent basis. It is securing pledges from citizens generally to become members of the party whose platform is total separation of state and national from city politics and the nomination of candidates solely upon merit. This party has an executive committee, and its leaders publish a weekly paper devoted to its cause called the "Citizens' Bulletin."

The maintenance of a distinctively municipal party is particularly difficult in this city, because the regular election machinery is in the hands of the central committee of the two dominant parties, parties which are national in scope, and under the existing election laws it is impossible for a purely municipal party to have its ticket placed upon the official ballot without presenting petitions properly signed as required by law. Then, again, the local press, with one exception, has given no support whatever to a dis-

tinctively municipal party, and heretofore the public at large has to some extent been so terrorized by the local machine that the majority of people were afraid to come out publicly in support of any movement opposed to the machine.

During the last campaign the Honest Election Committee was organized and did effective work. This committee has prepared important legislation which has already been introduced into the legislature, and when adopted will remove many of the difficulties which now stand in the way of independent movement. It is too early to state whether or not such movement will be successful. This legislation contemplates the Massachusetts ballot law, the direct primary law, a new registration law, a corrupt practice law and also the repeal of the Dana law, which prevents a candidate's name appearing more than once on the official ballot. Without some change in the election laws it will be extremely difficult for an independent municipal movement to succeed permanently.

PITTSBURGH

VOTERS' CIVIC LEAGUE.

By Tensard De Wolfe, Secretary Voters' Civic League, Pittsburgh, Pa.

On February 20th Pittsburgh elected as Mayor George W. Guthrie. He is a Democrat in national politics, but his election was made possible by the support of the independent element. This is a decisive victory for the independent voters of Pittsburgh. It also means the end of the present Republican machine in this city. A reorganization will be necessary, and it is believed that it will be headed by a better element than has heretofore taken part in political affairs.

The present reform victory, which is complete and substantial, comes after four years of constant political warfare. In 1902 the old Republican machine, which had ruled the city for twenty years, was overthrown. But the new machine was just as bad as the old, and its three years of administration were no improvement on the past. Mr. Guthrie was nominated for Mayor by the independent element, and through various political deals all the machine bosses—both new and old—were arrayed against him. Thus the independent victory was complete. Mr. Guthrie is a man of the highest character, wide experience, large ability.

Several independent municipal parties have been formed in Pittsburgh to meet the needs of the occasion. None of them have been permanent, although they may have lasted through one or more campaigns. They were formed along distinctively municipal lines. They have had the support of the best element in the city, and had much to do with the present independent victory.

The only permanent organization looking forward to a betterment of civic conditions is the Voters' Civic League. It takes no other part, however,

in active politics than investigating and reporting on candidates for city and county offices. Its work has been very effective, and the league in the future must be reckoned with by political parties.

Pittsburgh has suffered much from machine rule, but from the recent mayoralty election it is apparent that the honest voters of the community have discovered that they can elect their own officers. For the future it is believed that no machine will be able to entrench itself so substantially that it cannot be dislodged.

NEW ORLEANS

a CITIZENS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.
b CITIZENS' LEAGUE.

By JAMES J. MCLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

The reform element in municipal elections in New Orleans has been spasmodic in its manifestations. The city being overwhelmingly Democratic in its politics, of course all reform movements to be successful must be within the party, and whenever they have succeeded, they have worked in line with the principles of the national Democratic party.

In 1888 the first reform movement of any consequence began; it was organized under the name of the "Young Men's Democratic Association," was formed within the party, and was composed principally of citizens of means and influence. Their organization was throughout the entire city, and was in a sense semi-military in this, that armed guards were used at all polls where trouble was anticipated, to ensure an honest count of the votes. The election was won by the reformers, and their government controlled the city for four years. This "Young Men's Democratic Association" was purely a local affair, taking no part in state or national politics, and during the four years of its office-holding it lost most of its virility through inaction on the part of the better element of citizens of the city, and in 1892 one of the worst municipal tickets ever known was put before the people by the regular party and was elected.

This administration had not been in office very long before rumors of corruption were in the air. A franchise was granted to a railroad company to run its tracks through one of the most aristocratic residence avenues of the city. The franchise was of enormous value and covered some of the most valuable and influential sections of the city. The people were aroused at this grant on the part of the Council, and demands were made for the repeal of the ordinance. Immediately the "Citizens' Protective Association" took the matter up, and almost the entire Council was indicted, some of them being sent to the penitentiary. The Mayor was impeached before the court, but the court acquitted him on the ground that what he had done was done upon the advice of his counsel. The association, which was formed primarily

to punish these corrupt officials, grew in numbers, and was converted into the "Citizens' League," which led the next reform movement, in 1896.

It was carefully organized, with a central body and branches in each ward. Wealthy citizens contributed large sums of money, and as the months passed by it was seen that this association had gotten control of many of the wards of the city. The evidence of corruption brought out in the trials of the Councilmen and Mayor no doubt contributed largely to the success of the "Citizens' League."

In the election of 1896 the league elected twenty-seven of the thirty City Councilmen and all of its usual ticket.

Its plan of organization was, while nominally independent of both parties, still to retain the support of both. In this election of 1896 the "Citizens' League" carried the city of New Orleans for the Legislature, and its members in the Legislature secured a new city charter, which was a vast improvement upon the old one. As the state election was a close one, the Republican candidates coming within a few thousand votes (some say even closer than that) of being elected, the independents sought to elect a United States Senator, and came within one vote of electing their man to the United States Senate. This was their greatest achievement outside of the municipal government.

They controlled the city for four years, from 1896 to 1900, and it is agreed by all parties that the "Citizens' League" administration was the best ever known in the history of New Orleans. This administration carried into execution the sewerage and drainage scheme, by which the city of New Orleans will spend $16,000,000 under a non-partisan board for sewerage and water.

An attempt was made to make this "Citizens' League" a permanent independent movement. The league was incorporated; but towards the end of its administration politics began to creep in, and the leader of the league, who successfully led it through a victorious campaign, deserted its colors, and, with a number of followers, went over to the regular Democratic party. This, and a widespread belief amongst a large number of people that the "Citizens' League" Mayor was in sympathy with certain corporations, contributed materially to the defeat of the league in 1900. Again, in 1904, an independent movement, including some of the old reform element, took up the municipal campaign, but the regular party was so well organized, and the people were so generally apathetic, that the result was a complete victory for the regulars. Since then nothing has been done to organize a distinct reform movement, although several suggestions have been made by various prominent citizens.

One peculiarity of the local situation which makes it difficult to organize a successful reform movement is our poll tax law. Under the laws of Louisiana no one can vote unless he has paid poll taxes for the two preceding years. In other words, in order to take part in the elections of 1906, he must have paid his poll taxes for 1904 and 1905 during those two years; he cannot pay them after the last day of the year for which they are levied.

Consequently, citizens have to prepare themselves two years in advance in order to be legal voters. Many of our most prominent citizens neglect to pay this poll tax and, consequently, are disqualified from voting. The president of the cotton exchange the other day was pronounced ineligible for election to a State Financial Board because he had not paid his poll tax for 1904. The result of this is that when some great popular movement arises, the citizens who compose it find themselves in a position where they cannot vote, because they neglected to pay their poll tax.

At present the great era of material prosperity which seems to prevail in New Orleans has taken possession of the better element of the city, and they take little part in politics, and the regular ward politicians have no opposition to their schemes of government.

Nevertheless, and beyond it all, I believe that our present municipal government is less corrupt than that of almost any of the large cities, and, as for actual bribery, I think that has passed away with the great victory of the "Citizens' League" when it drove out of office, and to the penitentiary, the corrupt officials of that day.

Our present City Council, while not to be compared with the "Citizens' League" government of eight years ago, is nevertheless a fairly good working one, and I think it is doing all it can, hampered as it is by its traditions and the manner in which it was chosen, to give the people of New Orleans a fairly good system of municipal rule.

MINNEAPOLIS

VOTERS' LEAGUE.

By S. P. Jones, Secretary Voters' League, Minneapolis, Minn.

Only one civic organization participated in the last municipal election in Minneapolis, that of 1904—the Minneapolis Voters' League.

This is an organization enlisted for practical and permanent effort for good municipal government in Minneapolis and Hennepin county. It works along exclusively non-partisan lines and confines its activities to the election of members of the City Council and the Board of County Commissioners, limiting its work chiefly to the investigation of the records and qualifications of candidates and publication of the same to the world through the local papers. The league co-operates with all existing party organizations, endorsing and supporting for nomination and election the men who, regardless of their party affiliations, are, in its judgment, best qualified for public service.

The Voters' League is a strongly centralized organization. Its immediate sponsors were sixty-five prominent business and professional men of Minneapolis. From this number an executive committee of seven was selected to shape the policy and to direct the details of the work. This committee is self-perpetuating and wholly independent of all direction from any source.

It reports only to the public. The original sixty-five members, known as the advisory committee, never meet as a committee. Individual members are called in consultation with the executive committee as their services are needed. There is an associate membership of about 500, made up of those who have by card expressed approval of the purposes of the organization.

The league is a permanent organization, keeping constant watch of municipal affairs within its jurisdiction, and at the conclusion of a campaign beginning immediate preparations for the next one. It rarely seeks to direct legislation in either city or county government.

No attempt has been made in Minneapolis to organize a distinctively municipal party. There has been very little sentiment for such a move, the prevailing opinion being that, with the large independent vote in this community, better results can be reached by the plan of the league to raise the standard of the respective party nominees by organizing disinterested citizens for the support of the best qualified men, irrespective of their party brand. We have found that a large share of the voters will choose rightly, if given proper direction from a reliable and disinterested source. The direct primary system in Minnesota gives such an organization the opportunity to take an active part also in the selection of the party nominees.

The local issues have not, up to date, been sufficiently clean cut, or the situation in the dominant parties so discouraging, as to necessitate the formation of a distinctively municipal party. The large independent vote tends to keep up the standard of candidates as well as of official performance.

KANSAS CITY

CIVIC LEAGUE.

By Allan O. Harrison, Secretary Kansas City Civic League.

The Kansas City Civic League was organized in the fall of 1901, and incorporated under the laws of Missouri January 11, 1902. The purpose of the league is to "secure the nomination and election of aggressively honest and capable men to all city, township and county offices." The conditions which called for the civic league were: a generally demoralized city government, failure to enforce the law, graft, election frauds, incompetency of appointees, and indifference of good people to these things.

The plan of the league is to investigate the character and fitness of candidates for local offices and issue a report to the public, urging the election of those found worthy, and the defeat of those found unworthy, regardless of political party. After the election the league watches the conduct of those elected to office, and before the expiration of their term the league issues another report covering their official conduct. At the last two local elections it was noted that fully three-fourths of the League's recommendations had been followed by the voters.

The chief obstacles we have found in the way of electing high grade officials have been spoils, politics and election frauds. We have sought to remove the former by advocating civil service, and the latter by aiding in the prosecution of those found violating the election laws. Through the efforts of the league three men have recently been convicted and sentenced to two years each in the penitentiary for election frauds.

There is no distinctively municipal party in Kansas City. The two leading national parties are strongly intrenched in local elections, and there has been little or no effort to start a municipal party. The chief difficulties in the way of a purely municipal party are: First, the strong allegiance to one of the other of the national parties, which has amounted to a reverence with many Missouri voters in the past; and, second, the form of ballot used in Missouri. Each party has a separate ballot, and thousands of voters cast their ballots, not according to the merits of the candidates, but according to the caption of the ballot. This form of ballot is also conducive to vote buying. The Civic League is advocating the abolishment of the separate ballot or party column and the substitution of the single ballot, with the names of all candidates for each office under the designation of that office.

The Civic League is the only civic organization in the city that participates actively in municipal elections. During its early efforts the League was ignored by the politicians, but later they came to respect it, and candidates now respond promptly to the questions put to them by the league for information. The league is generally recognized as a power for good, and a large number of voters look forward regularly to the league's report as a guide for voting.

DENVER

LEAGUE FOR HONEST ELECTIONS.

By James H. Causey, Denver, Col.

The only civic organization which has taken an active part in our elections has been the League for Honest Elections.

This organization has not co-operated with any political party, but has devoted itself entirely to the work of purging our city of election frauds. The plan of organization was the simple one of forming fifteen men into a non-partisan body, with a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. It opened a permanent office, which it has maintained until this time, by having an office secretary and keeping the public in touch with its progress. It did not attempt to organize a municipal party for the reason that the field is pretty well covered by the two principal national parties. The flood of light which it threw on our election situation resulted in the arrest and conviction of many of the tricksters. A new registration law has been obtained from the Legislature which we think will be of great benefit hereafter.

The work of the League for Honest Elections is now being supplanted

by the State Voters' League along the lines of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, which will attempt to bring pressure to bear on both parties to nominate good men.

LOS ANGELES

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By C. D. Willard, Secretary Municipal League, Los Angeles, Cal.

Los Angeles, California, is a thoroughly American city of from 175,000 to 200,000 population. It is normally Republican about two to one. There are 108 precincts in the city. At the last Presidential election Roosevelt carried 107 of these, his total majority being 13,000. One month later a municipal election was held, at which the Democratic nominee for street superintendent, endorsed by the Municipal League, carried 104 out of the 108 precincts. The Republican candidate secured the nomination fairly and was supported by the party organization. He and his friends put up a courageous fight, but went down to defeat with the overwhelming majority of 9,500 votes against him. This vote would seem to indicate that about half the electors of Los Angeles are prepared to vote independently of party nominations.

Up to 1896 there was no organized independent movement in Los Angeles, although a strong independent tendency showed at times in municipal and county affairs. The municipal election occurs every two years, just one month after the national or state and county elections (alternating). This arrangement is not much better than the simultaneous holding of the city and national elections. The partisan activity and enthusiasm stirred up by the larger issues is still in force when the municipal battle comes on, and nominations for city offices are often used as trading material in the county, state and national conventions.

In 1896 an organization known as the "League for Better City Government" came into existence, with an active membership of several hundred and an allied membership of about 6,000. The latter was obtained by taking signatures of citizens who would pledge themselves to the principle of non-partisan voting. All these signers were allowed to participate in a ballot through the mail. In this way a direct primary vote was secured and vacancies in the ticket (where there was no majority) were filled in by a convention of delegates chosen through this same postal primary. Several independent nominations were made, but for the most part the nominees of the regular organizations were endorsed. The result was the most satisfactory Council the city ever had, and the suppression of a systematic graft that had been carried on for years in the Board of Education. The league, however, went out of existence before the next municipal election was held.

The present Municipal League was established in the fall of 1901, with a resolve to "keep out of politics," and devote itself to civic improvement. It

passed the election of 1902, but by 1904 the bad condition of the city's streets brought the organization in direct conflict with the street superintendent, and a protest was entered against his renomination. The outcome of this contest is narrated above. At the same time the league advocated the election of a non-partisan school board, and secured the nomination of seven men of high standing for membership in that body. These were refused by the Republican convention, but accepted by the Democrats. They were elected by 3,000 majority against the Republican nominees. The remainder of the city ticket was left to itself. Most of the administrative offices were excellent, but the Council is very unsatisfactory.

Possibly by the time the next municipal election occurs the members of the league will be prepared to order that organization to take a hand in the contest. The league has procured an amendment to the city charter whereby the next election will be for a three years' term. This brings subsequent elections to non-political years, with an increase, it is believed, of the strength of the independent sentiment.

SEATTLE

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP LEAGUE.

By Prof. J. Allen Smith, University of Washington.

There is at present an active sentiment here in favor of municipal reform. Seattle, like other rapidly growing cities, has learned something of the power of public utility corporations to defeat the will of the people. The subserviency of the City Council to the street railway and allied interests and its disposition to grant new privileges to these corporations without exercising such power as it now possesses to ensure adequate service, has awakened the people to the fact that something must be done to protect their interests. The opposition to these evils has within the last few weeks crystallized in a municipal ownership movement, or rather two movements—a municipal ownership league largely made up of business and professional men and a similar movement having its origin in and supported by the labor unions of the city. These two organizations have united in placing a municipal ownership ticket in the field, and are making an active campaign. It is probable that the Democrats will endorse the candidates of the municipal ownership party.

The platform adopted favors the direct nomination and the recall of public officials, and the prohibition of campaign contributions by public utility corporations. It opposes the grant of any franchise or other privilege except by direct vote of the people, and demands that no new franchise shall be granted to any street railway corporation, but that the city shall at once proceed to construct and operate a municipal system to supply the transportation facilities now badly needed in many parts of the city, which system shall be extended as the growth of the community may require.

The municipal ownership movement really began several years ago, when the city purchased the old water plant and built the present gravity system, which has proved to be a most satisfactory and profitable venture. Encouraged by the success of municipal ownership in this field, the people demanded and finally compelled the submission of a proposal to vote bonds for an electric light plant. The vote in favor of this was overwhelming, but, although the plant has been built, it has not yet become a serious competitor of the corporation which controls the distribution of light and power as well as the street railways. The extension of this municipal service to private consumers has been opposed and retarded in every way possible by the corporations, whose profits would be endangered by the active competition of a municipal plant.

The present municipal ownership movement here is in reality an effort to secure democracy. What the people want more than any thing else is a local government that will represent them rather than the public utility corporations.

Just what the local Republican machine will do remains to be seen. Its leaders have been consistent opponents of any thorough-going municipal ownership policy, but they now realize that some concessions must be made to public opinion before they can hope to win the support of a majority of the voters.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES.

Adams, G. B. *The History of England* (1066-1216). Vol. II of "The Political History of England." Pp. x, 473. Price, $2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

The Charity Organization Society of New York. *Twenty-third Annual Report.* Pp. 230. New York, 1906. 105 East Twenty-second Street.
Such an annual report as this is worthy of note. We have not merely the customary accounts of the work of various committees, and of the several officers of the organization, but we have likewise some monographs written by experts in philanthropic work, which deserve general attention. For instance, twenty-three pages are devoted to a report of the Committee on Social Research, which gives very definite information regarding the work done for a large number of families which have come under the care of the society in recent years. Any student of such conditions will find in this report of Miss Lillian Brandt much information which he would have difficulty in getting elsewhere. There is likewise a report of an investigation in regard to the purchase and management of food by one hundred tenement house families, which is of decided interest. The work of the School of Philanthropy for the past year is given, together with a report of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

In the appendix are studies dealing with "Tuberculosis Among Negroes," "Lodging House Investigation," and an article telling of country employment for poor consumptives. It is impossible to do more for them in this bald way, to hint at the contents of this interesting volume, which may be obtained free, so long as the edition lasts, by sending ten cents to cover postage.

Crosby, O. T. *Tibet and Turkestan.* Pp. xviii, 332. Price, $2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

D'Eichthal, E. *La Formation des Richesses et ses Conditions Sociales Actuelles.* Pp. xxvii, 456. Price, 7.50 fr. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906.
Reserved for later notice.

Denby, Charles. *China and Her People.* Two volumes. Pp. xvi, 256; viii, 276. Price, $2.40. Boston: L. C. Page & Co., 1906.

The author, the late Colonel Charles Denby, was the United States Minister to China from 1885 to 1898. He kept his position at a time when partisan politics ran high and made a splendid record in face of many difficulties. Exceptional opportunities were his, therefore, to become acquainted with Chinese character. The present work is rather to be viewed as extracts from his journal than as a comprehensive attempt to describe China. It is an interpretation of recent events in China, as well as a description of native life.

It would seem that those Americans who continually depreciate the Chinese would ultimately awaken to the fact that all those who know the Chinese have a very high respect for them and a firm belief in their future. Colonel Denby is no exception. He admires them—and incidentally says our present policy of exclusion will cause us trouble, and he is strongly opposed to their exclusion from the island possessions.

The author begins with his appointment as Minister, tells of his life in China, of the diplomats, the government, the emperor and empress, the people and their habits, in the first volume. The second is devoted more specifically to present movements in China; the development of trade; China and the foreign powers; the Boxer uprising; the Russo-Japanese war, with a few chapters on America in the Far East; the development of a national spirit in China and the like.

The material is arranged in an interesting fashion. The books are readable and, more important, reliable. They give a good picture of China. The author speaks in high terms of the work of the missionaries. The publisher has done his part well. The volumes are very attractive and neat. The illustrations are many and good. They will be most acceptable to one who wishes to get a good idea of the Chinese.

Devine, Edward T. *Efficiency and Relief.* Pp. viii, 45. Price, 75 cents. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Deserving of far more than passing notice is this little volume, which is a revised form of the inaugural address of the author, as Schiff Professor of Social Economy in Columbia University. For many years Dr. Devine has been known as one of the ablest of the men actually engaged in philanthropic work in the United States, and his call now, to possibly a wider field of usefulness in Columbia University, his position as Director of the School of Philanthropy, lends added interest to what he may suggest as a "Programme of Social Work." He seeks in this address to show how "Efficiency" and "Relief" may be brought in close relation, and to show how society, if it really faced its duty as regards the unfortunate, may help to work out the modern social ideal, "A nearer approach to equality of opportunity." The address, therefore, is a call to a direct concrete struggle with those elements in society which are hindering social welfare and not the vision of the doctrinaire. Those who are interested in these great problems of social advance will find this address most helpful and stimulating.

Dorsey, George A. *The Cheyenne.* Two volumes. Pp. lv, 186. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1905.

The author, who is Curator, Department of Anthropology of the Field Columbian Museum, has in these volumes given us a most interesting and valuable account of some of the social organizations of the Cheyenne Indians.

Volume I deals with the ceremonial organization and tells of the myths relative to the origin of the different societies and describes the ceremonies.

Volume II is devoted to the sun dance, and relates in extenso the preparations and methods of observance. Both volumes are illustrated, the second calling for special notice because of the very complete photographic reproductions of the ceremony of the sun dance.

Fleming, W. L. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.*. Pp. xxiv, 815. Price, $5.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

From Servitude to Service. By Various Authors. Pp. xx, 232. Price, $1.10. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905.

Taken all in all, this little volume will give the reader a better idea of the spirit and achievements of the educational institutions for the negroes than any other single work. Originally delivered as lectures in Boston, the chapters are of unequal merit and contain some irrelevant matter. Mr. Robert C. Ogden contributes the introduction. Professor Kelly Miller tells of Harvard University; President W. G. Frost, of Berea College; Professor R. C. Bruce, of Tuskegee Institute; Principal H. B. Frissell of Hampton; Professor W. E. B. Du Bois of Atlanta University, and President James G. Merrill of Fisk University. No one can fail to be impressed by the work done by these five institutions—and there are many others deserving of mention. By its freedom from the polemic spirit and by its adherence to actual facts and conditions, this book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of what is happening to the negro.

Garner, J. W., and Lodge, H. C. *The History of the United States.* Four vols. Philadelphia: J. D. Morris & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

George, Henry, Jr. *The Menace of Privilege.* Pp. xii, 421. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

An unusually powerful book. Mr. George has been fortunate in the choice of a title. He is equally happy in his thesis. If advancing society means, as is often said, the socialization of the achievements of the race, the main argument is unassailable. He goes beyond his father in that he emphasizes the danger of other privileges than those arising from control of land. There are four main classes of privilege: (1) Private ownership of natural opportunities; (2) tariff and other taxation on production and on its fruits;

(3) special government grants; (4) grants under general laws and immunities in the courts. The author makes "a study of the dangers to the republic from the existence of a favored class." He then traces the history of some of the wealthy families to show how the control of privileges has given them their wealth. Then he seeks to show how this involves a moral deterioration both of the privileged and those who suffer therefrom. He discusses in strong fashion the dangers arising from the control of the courts; from government by injunction; the growing use of the militia and army in strikes, etc. The effect of this increased control of the privileged classes is traced in national and municipal politics, and likewise in the increasing subserviency of the press, the university, the pulpit. Then Mr. George seeks to trace parallels with other civilizations to make plain the way we are travelling. This done, the remedy is suggested in the freeing of all natural opportunities and the abolition of all forms of privilege. The government should appropriate all economic rents by taxation. Then and then only can the trend of government be turned from centralization to more democratic decentralization.

One need not agree with all the conclusions of the author to profit by his arguments. The volume deserves careful study.

Gladden, Washington. *The New Idolatry.* Pp. viii, 263. Price, $1.20. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1905.

No man in this country deserves a more respectful hearing on matters of social morality than the author. One does not have to agree to all that is said to appreciate the importance of the subjects discussed. The present volume is a collection of essays upon various topics, but all dealing with the growing commercialization of the country. The author says a deep religious revival, a new sense of social ethics are deeply needed. Money worship, power worship, class worship are the new idols. The author's recent protest against the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's donation to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions occupies a prominent place. The volume should be widely read.

Grinnell, William Morton. *Social Theories and Social Facts.* Pp. ix, 146. Price, $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Nowadays it is comparatively rare to find any one holding so consistently a laissez faire policy as does the author in this little volume belonging to the "Questions of the Day" series. He thinks the facts squarely refute our popular notions. General conditions are better than they used to be and the per capita wealth is greater. It is to be expected that there should be greater fortunes. Political socialism would result in a form of slavery, but we are getting industrial socialism of a valuable type—widespread ownership of corporations. Competition is a chimera. We must respect economic laws and not seek to control trusts or corporations by the government. The owners will look out for them. Trades unionism is a growth of foreign origin very harmful to the independence of our laboring men. Conditions of life are easier. We discover difficulties, then pass new laws without regard

to real causes. Public ownership is a failure. The only equality the state can effect is on the scale of the least efficient people. Nature abhors equality.

Grunzel, Dr. Joseph. *System der Industriel politik.* Pp. vi, 393. Price, 8 m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Guilmard, E. *Reorganisation de la Bourse du Commerce.* Pp. 144. Price, 2 fr. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906.

Hume, John T. *The Abolitionists.* Pp. vi, 224. Price, $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
The aim of the author was "to vindicate the character of a portion of the citizens of this country * * * from * * * the unmerited aspersions of a man who has since come into a position so conspicuous and influential that his condemnation necessarily carries with it a damaging effect." This person is President Roosevelt. The volume is, therefore, a defense rather than a study. We are told who the abolitionists were and something of their work. One chapter is devoted to Lincoln and Douglass; one to "Anti-slavery Women." Others deal with the underground railroad, mobs, the Missouri Compromise, anti-slavery martyrs, etc. In spite of its motif, the volume contains in accessible form much information concerning all these matters which will be of value to the student. The fact that the author was an active participant in the anti-slavery movement lends added weight to what he says.

Johnston, Alexander. *American Political History, 1763-1876.* Part I. Pp. xii, 446. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Kildare, Owen. *The Wisdom of the Simple.* Pp. 353. Price, $1.50. Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1905.
Of more value than many ordinary sociological studies, and far more interesting reading, is this story of the development of a strong, good man from the street gamin of lower New York City. The villain is a country lad of good instincts grown sour because of neglect, and becomes a criminal and a politician. Except that the transformation of the district is a bit too sudden, the story rings true to life. Mr. Kildare knows his subject, and many a reader will here get a true insight into real facts of life among the poorer workers of a great city—and enjoy at the same time the literary skill of the writer.

Kirkbride, F. B., and Sterrett, J. E. *The Modern Trust Company.* Pp. xii, 309. Price, $2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.
See "Book Reviews."

Knapp, George Frederick. *State Theory of Money.* Pp. 396. Price, 8.80 m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905.

First Chapter.—Theory of Money—Payments—Gold and Metal. Second Chapter.—Regulation of Money Values at Home. Third Chapter.—Interchange of Money with Foreign Countries. Fourth Chapter.—A Survey According to Countries—England—France—German Empire, Austria from 1857 to 1892; Austria from 1892 to 1900.

An interesting and exhaustive treatise on money and monetary values. In the first chapter the theory and history of money as a circulating medium is fully discussed. The author holds the view that money, like any other commodity, is fixed by the law of supply and demand. Gold is subject to fewer fluctuations in value than any other commodity known, hence is the best. In exactly the degree in which the value of money is unstable it ceases to be a trustworthy standard of value. The change in the value of legal tender; the fixing of legal tender according to new values; the fixing of new value in accordance with old standards are all free acts of political power. The practical man is a metallist, the theoretical man a nominalist. A full history of bimetallism is given, with different theories in its favor. The author is a monometallist.

Lang, Andrew. *The Secret of the Totem.* Pp. x, 215. Price, $3.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Mr. Lang has already given us in his Social Origins his views on the subject of totemism and the tabus which are everywhere associated with the totemic system for the regulation of savage society. The present work is an amplification of the same theory, which does not differ fundamentally from that of several other writers, though much credit is due to Mr. Lang for bringing together in this volume a great deal of material in support of the argument. Totems originated, according to Mr. Lang's theory, in the efforts of primitive human groups to distinguish each other by names which would be easily expressed by sign of gesture, and, therefore, readily communicated. The name so applied was always that of an animal or plant, and, having been adopted by the group to which it was originally applied as a sobriquet, its origin was forgotten, and the belief arose that there was an actual blood relationship between the members of a group and the animal or plant bearing the same name as the group—that is to say, the totem. The mystical relationship having once been established and its sacred character avowed, a system of tibus was introduced, in harmony with these ideas, and among them the prohibition of marriage between persons having the same totem, hence totemic exogamy.

Le Roy, James A. *Philippine Life in Town and Country.* Pp. x, 311. Price, $1.20. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

This is one of the best interpretations of the Filipino yet offered to American readers. The author, now American Consul at Durango, Mexico, was for two years connected with the United States Philippine Commission. The

result is a very sympathetic account of the life of the natives which is singularly free from prejudice. In the almost universal denunciation of Spanish misrule, it is pleasant to read that in the first part of her domination of the Philippines Spain accomplished "what no other European nation has ever done in the Orient, and did it without crushing the people under her heel." As a result there has been a development of the people, and a real middle class was supporting the revolt of 1896. In a most interesting way, aided by many illustrations, the author tells of the people, racial divisions, methods of life in town and country, discusses the complex religious question, notes the effect of education and considers the opportunities and needs of the present. Next to the educational program, the suppression of the political activity of the Friars is considered the strongest card played by the United States. The chief obstacle to social and political progress is the power of the cacique or "boss." The chapter dealing with this system is particularly good. The author has little patience with the "colonial experts" who condemn all tropical countries and Oriental peoples to perpetual inferiority. He sees certain very hopeful signs for the future, though he does not hesitate to point out some discouraging features of the situation. One who wishes a well-balanced review of conditions in the islands will find it in this little volume, which belongs in the series, "Our Asiatic Neighbors," issued by Putnams.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre. *The United States in the Twentieth Century.* Pp. xxvi, 396. Price, $2.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1906. It is not too much to say that this is one of the three or four most important books yet written by Europeans to give to fellow-citizens an idea of the United States and its possibilities. The author is the son of the well known French publicist, Leroy-Beaulieu.

The present volume is the authorized translation by Mr. H. Addington Bruce of the French edition. The information it contains will not be new to American readers, although we have very few books which cover the field so carefully and completely as does this.

The volume is divided into four parts: the first dealing with the country and its people, containing a discussion of the physical environment and the make-up of the population, the race question, and a study of birth-rates; Part Two, dealing with rural America, discusses the great agricultural interests of the country, while in Part Three the same thing is done for the industrial developments, and Part Four is reserved for the discussion of the American railway system, foreign trade, and the American merchant marine.

For his evidence the author has relied partly upon personal observation, but largely upon the census and upon other official publications, which, while he admits their inaccuracies, he thinks give a fairly adequate idea of the situation as a whole. He believes most profoundly that America is destined to play an enormous part in the movements of the "Twentieth Century," basing his belief not merely upon the stock of the American people, but also upon the enormous natural advantages possessed by the country. He does

not believe we have reached the final solution of many of our great problems; for instance, he thinks the "trust" but a passing phenomenon, which cannot permanently endure. He sees likewise a certain depression to our democratic life in proposals to extend the sphere of the state in ways which would reduce the liberty of the citizens. However, he believes that Americans will learn how to solve these social problems, and even how to control the subject races in the newer possessions. He pays great compliments to the country and its people, which, let us hope, both deserve.

Although the information contained is not new, nevertheless Americans will get much profit from a careful reading of the book, and it is to be most heartily commended to our foreign friends who desire to get as accurate an idea of our great industrial development as it is possible to put in tangible form.

Moll, D. E. *Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.* Druck und Verlag von Schultherz & Co., 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Seager, Henry Rogers. *Introduction to Economics.* Pp. xxii, 618. Price, $2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1905.
That this work has so soon passed to its third edition is sufficient evidence of its cordial reception in American schools. In the present edition Professor Seager has found it advisable to add chapters on "Public Expenditures and Public Revenues" and "Taxation and Tax Reform in the United States," to render the book more acceptable to some who missed the discussion of "Public Finance." The chapter on "Production and Distribution" has been completely revised, and many minor changes have been made. In its improved form it will find more, even general, acceptance than it has hitherto had.

Tout, T. F. *History of England, 1216-1377.* Vol. III of the "Political History of England." Pp. xxiv, 496. Price, $2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Voth, H. R. *The Traditions of the Hopi.* Pp. 319. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1905.
For two years Mr. Voth was occupied in collecting these traditions *"in the vernacular and without an interpreter"* of these Indians, best known to the average reader by the picturesque descriptions of Mr. G. W. James in his "Indians of the Painted Desert Region." Inasmuch as the only contributions America can make to this department of social history must come from the Indians, the Field Columbian Museum, under whose direction the study was made, and Mr. Stanley McCormick, whose generosity made it possible, deserve great credit. The author is to be congratulated, not merely upon his mastery of the language, but for the attractive form into which he has

put the legends. The different stories are summarized at the end of the volume.

Warne, F. J. *The Coal-Mine Workers.* Pp. x, 251. Price, $1.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Zueblin, Charles. *A Decade of Civic Development.* Pp. 188. Price, $1.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.
In this little book the author sketches the civic improvement which is taking place among us and emphasizes the rapid progress of the last decade. He points out our many shortcomings, especially those along æsthetic lines, but cites the Columbian Exposition, with its artistic excellence, as the beginning of a new era for American cities. Since then a new civic spirit has come into existence. Finally, he takes four cities remarkable for their past efforts —Boston, New York, Harrisburg and Washington—and shows what they have been able to accomplish.

The book is optimistic in tone, and is well worth the perusal of those who have bewailed the failure of American municipal government.

REVIEWS.

Conant, Charles A. *Principles of Money and Banking.* Two vols. Pp. 940. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.
The first of these two volumes is devoted to the subject of money. It contains an epitome of the best that has been said by sound-money writers. Theories of the economists find expression, together with the results of historical research, etc. The conclusions thus reached are treated as principles for the consideration of the many subjects of present-day interest. The work is not only a forceful exposition of so-called principles which have guided commercial people and leading nations in thinking about monetary problems, but it is unique in that the work of the author is in the nature of a collation of the thought and expression of nearly every writer of note on the several topics treated.

The second volume deals with the public aspects of banking and government paper issues. In this the author has used economic theory and historic reference in an able way to support conclusions arrived at by the "Commercial Assets" School of Bankers. In his thinking the author proceeds from the assumption that "the character of assets which sound banking practices suggest" is readily convertible commercial assets (II, 67). "This," he says, "is the natural result of the effort to render services to patrons for the lowest charges and earn profits for the bank by keeping at the minimum the amount of idle capital invested in reserves" (II, 72). The assumption that the capital invested in a banking institution for the purpose of main-

taining a "reserve" to be *"idle"* is again restated as follows: "All that portion of the assets held in money lies idle in a sense and reduces the profits which may be earned if the money was let out" (II, 59). Again he refers to it as "a waste of economic efficiency" (II, 283).

Representing the bank as an institution "seeking to accomplish the largest volume of results with the greatest saving of effort" ((II, 206), and "the function of the banker" as "economizing the use of money," thereby "diminishing the cost and effort of exchange," he leads inevitably to the following conclusions: (1) That as a means of further economizing the use of capital and "diminishing the cost and effort of exchange," the bankers should be given power of note-issue, limited only by the demand of the public for money; (2) to the same end, banks should be empowered to institute branches, thus giving a larger utility or "fluidity" to the capital of the community; (3) that the sub-treasury system should be abolished, in order that all of the current funds of the government may be used by the bank as a means of putting this idle money into circulation, thus still further decreasing "the cost of exchange."

In these three main conclusions the author is in strict accord with Mr. Horace White, Mr. Eckels and a large number of the leading bankers of the country. Mr. Conant differs from the others only in the method of arriving at conclusions. Laying the foundation for his theory, he defines a bank, not as an institution organized to do business on its own capital, but as one entrusted with the doing business on the "saved capital of others." "The primary function of a commercial banker is that of a broker and dealer in money" (II,208)—other people's money. "It is in gathering up the capital of others through the deposit system that the commercial banker renders one of his essential services to the country" (II, 211, 282).

Supporting this thesis he further says: "The essential fact underlying the use of credit is the existence of saved capital" (II, 10). "The different forms of banking credit are simply devices for transfer of capital from hands where it is not needed to those where it may be put to use" (II, 16). He continually refers to credit as "a title to money" or capital saved. With such a concept, the need for independent capitalization is minimized—in fact, it is so far lost sight of as to warrant the conclusion on his part that all capital used by a bank for the purpose of supporting credit may be deemed as "idle" and is so labeled. On the other hand, the public interest in legislation which will still further permit a bank to increase its credit, or its "devices for transferring capital from hands where it is not needed to those where it may be put to use," is appealed to. This assumption serves the author as the underlying basis for his argument with respect to placing the power of note-issue in the hands of banks and taking the functions of paper money issue away from the government.

Without offering any suggestion by way of hostile criticism of conclusions reached in a work which has cost so much painstaking research as a means of arriving at the opinions and statements of students and experts, the reviewer ventures to call attention to what is regarded by another school

of banking opinion as unwarranted assumptions and inconsistencies in reason. That the bank is organized for the purpose of rendering a public service in return for which the banker hopes to derive a profit is not gainsaid. It is *not* conceded by all, however, that the business of banking is one of handling the money or capital of others. The banker is in no sense to be regarded as a broker of other people's money. On the contrary, it is asserted that every dollar the banker takes in over his counter as a "deposit" is the banker's money; that the transaction of banking is in the nature of a bargain and sale and not one of trusteeship or bailment; that when a customer hands money to a receiving teller, the bank becomes the purchaser of money so passed in, paying for it with its own credit; that this is true of money transactions in the same sense as in the case of a note sold to the bank; that, instead of being a broker, the banker is a credit merchant, buying the interest-bearing credit obligations of customers and paying for the same by means of his own demand credit obligations; that in so far as any money passes between the banker and the customer it is entirely incidental to the credit business carried on. It is held that a money broker or a money changer is not in any sense a commercial banker—neither is a note broker or a bullion broker an exchange broker or a bond and stock broker. The same may be said of dealers in these various classes of instruments of exchange. In so far as transactions of the kind are carried on by the bank, they are purely ancillary proceedings, the main purpose of the banker being that of disposing of his own demand credit at a profit.

It is also asserted by those opposing the school to which Mr. Conant belongs that there is no capital in the business of banking except that which is put into it by the banker himself or by the stockholders. The author himself in another relation admits this by accepting the following statement and definition as "sound": "The commercial bank is capitalized for the purpose of supporting its own credit obligation; these credit obligations in turn are used as a means of purchasing the current liabilities of other business concerns. This is the business of banking." Taking this as a proper view of the business of banking and the purpose of capitalizing, it cannot be conceded that the capital of a banker in any sense is "idle" unless he is unable to sell the full amount of cash that his capital may safely support, *i. e.*, to increase his deposit obligations to from three to six times the amount of the capital which he has invested.

By accepting the definition above quoted and this statement of the function of capitalization as "sound," it is held that the whole argument of the author and of the school which he represents falls to the ground. The business of the bank being one of selling its own demand credit at a profit (of exchanging it for income-producing credit assets), its credit should be supported by its own capital, and this capital should be adequate at all times to meet all ordinary demands made on its own obligations.

From this point of view the capital of the bank serves two purposes: (1) In providing an independent support for the bank's demand obligations, it operates as security or as a capital fund for the protection of the bank's

creditors against loss suffered by reason of the bad judgment of the banker in the purchase and sale of credit, and (2) the bank, having been chartered and empowered by the government to offer and sell its demand credit to the community for use as "cash," the same law which creates the bank should require that the capital of the bank should be adequate immediately to meet all of the ordinary financial needs of customers growing out of demands for payment of the bank's credit obligations, without suddenly and forcibly curtailing the volume of "cash" circulating in the community in the form of bank credit whenever there may be a financial strain. From this point of view the capital of a bank is not more idle than is the foundation of a factory. The cash and security reserve provided by the bank out of its own capital is the very foundation of the bank's usefulness in the community, and on the adequacy or strength of this foundation depends the banker's right to offer his demand credit for sale in exchange for money or commercial paper.

Exception is taken to the definition of credit offered by the author. It is held that credit is not a "title" to money; nor is bank credit a device for "transferring capital" from the community to the bank and again from the bank to another who may make better use of it. In another place Mr. Conant accepts the more exact statement or definition, viz., that credit is "an executory contract to deliver money"; that credit is a right to demand money in the future, the title, however, not passing till the money is actually delivered or paid. If credit were a "title" to money the creditor of the bank would own the banker's reserve. More than this, the banker would have no right to issue credit for a dollar more than he has in his vaults; the law deals very harshly with one giving a deed to property which he does not own. This figure of speech has led many into vicious forms of reason.

Again, commercial paper is not capital to the maker; it is given by reason of his lack of capital. When, therefore, a bank exchanges its credit for a note, it does not obtain capital; neither does it deliver capital when giving a demand credit on its own books. The difference between the idea of the author and the concept of those who are opposed to the view of the school which he represents is the difference between *capital* and *floating debt;* the conclusions resting on the assumption that there is no difference between capital and floating debt are a product of reasoning that fails to distinguish between assets and liabilities.

The three main conclusions drawn are (1) that the bank should be given greater powers of credit expansion; (2) that branch banking should be allowed without requiring increased capitalization; (3) that the gold of the government should be sold to the banks in exchange for their demand credit, *i. e.,* loaned without interest or at a nominal charge. These are all pregnant of the same fallacies. Before the first conclusion may be conceded it is incumbent on the "Commercial Assets" school to demonstrate that the banks are at the present time overcapitalized. Before the second conclusion may be safely reached they must show: that the banks are both overcapitalized, that a centrally controlled group of banks having the same

capitalization as if working independently will better serve the individual business man who is seeking accommodation, and that there is no public danger to be feared in the exercise of a banking monopoly. Before the third conclusion may be established it must be shown that it is in the interest of public welfare for banks to do business on the funds of the government rather than on their own capital.

The opponents of the "Commercial Assets" school claim that at the present time our banks are not adequately capitalized, as shown by their frequent inability to support their own credit without the contraction of the cash current in the community; that some of our banks are issuing from ten to fifteen times as much credit as they have capital invested in the business; that the banking law fails to exercise control over the banks with respect to the amount of credit which may be issued; that the proposed measures for increased powers of note-issue, for branch banking and for treasury deposits (if they become law in the form laid down) would each operate in the direction of still further weakening the capital strength of institutions which are already ill supported, and would add to the credit convulsions from which the business community and the nation suffers. In brief, the contention is that the measures proposed by the "Commercial Assets" school, while they would give increased power of expansion of credit during periods of speculation and great business activity, by virtue of the smaller pro rata capital support given, would necessitate more drastic retractions of credit in periods of monetary disturbance. It is also truthfully asserted that in the whole literature which has been produced by this school not a suggestion is found nor an argument proposed which seriously attempts to discuss, to say nothing of disposing of, the question of the amount of capital needed to support the volume of bank credit used, whether this be in the form of note-issues or obligations to depositors.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

New York.

Dunning, William A. *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu.* Pp. xii, 459. Price, $2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

This volume carries forward to the middle of the eighteenth century the work begun in the History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval, published three years ago. Luther, Suarez, Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke and Montesquieu are the central figures, but the exposition of their theories does not unduly eclipse that of the writers of lesser importance. The Reformation was to strengthen absolutism. The reaction against the tyranny of the church brought about increased tyranny in monarchic and aristocratic institutions. But near the close of the sixteenth century the construction put by Luther and Calvin upon the Bible was dropped, and submission to any particular ruler as the representative of God's will ceased to be the presumptive duty of a Christian. Law and contract intervened between

God and the monarch, and royal acts are to be subject to the tests of mere human reason. Bodin's real work is to set the theory of the state and the science of government on a foundation of history and observation and by the side of the sciences of ethics and theology. He thinks belief in a supernatural being important for the welfare of a state, but the details of creed do not impress him. Rejection of the influences that had determined mediæval institutions and beliefs was the substantial characteristic of his spirit in politics, as it was the characteristic of Protestantism in creed and worship.

The Catholic reformers followed much the same line of reasoning as did Grotius; they worked over material transmitted by the mediæval doctors of theology, and presented their theories with all the scholasticism and sanction of the Roman Church. Jurisprudence and incidental politics of the Spanish or Catholic school lead by Suarez could get no hearing. Any development of international law or natural law would have to be through philosophy that bore the impress of Protestantism or of Humanism or both. Grotius had the happy combination, and received the glory that was the just reward of the combination. The same sort of thing which prevented the political theories of the Spanish school from coming to the fore stood in the way of the Protestant theories. Their Protestantism was too conspicuous, and their theological training set an almost impossible barrier to the spread of their influences. It was because of this tendency to radicalism by both Catholics and Protestants that the real development in political theory, which was destined to prevail on the Continent for a century, was due to the Dutch philosopher, Grotius.

The English Constitution was a product of practical political sagacity, administrative ability and a spirit of legalism in the dominant classes. The Puritan revolution gave systematic form and concrete expression to the legalistic ideas that constituted the bulk of English political philosophy, and it took over the Continental theories, blended with them the invigorating influences of the English intellect, and returned them to the Continent for undisputed sway. The military government administered by Cromwell expressed no theory, no philosophy save the recognition of compelling necessity.

Hobbes was a closet philosopher rather than a practical politician. Like Bodin, he aimed in his political philosophy to sustain the royal cause primarily through the attainment of exactness in his conception of state and sovereignty. Hobbes sets politics above religion and morals as a matter of philosophic theory. He holds that the laws of nature, nations and God have binding force upon the individual only through the will of the political sovereign. His influence upon the Continent was marked until Voltaire and Montesquieu brought forward their theories.

Locke's most distinctive contribution to political theory is his doctrine of natural rights. He stands high in that group of thinkers who promoted the rationalistic idea of life. He belongs with Grotius rather than with Hobbes. Locke and Milton established their doctrine of religious toleration by the same course of rationalistic reasoning.

Montesquieu, in the middle of the eighteenth century, like Machiavelli, at the beginning of the sixteenth, stands somewhat isolated from the general current of political theory. Montesquieu undertook to blend politics with jurisprudence, economics and general social science, while the tendency of his contemporaries was to differentiate these various sciences. He stood for history, observation and broad generalization as the method of approach to political and social truth. The reciprocal reaction of legislation on the one hand, and morals and manners on the other, is always in the mind of the philosopher.

This volume, like the one covering the previous period, is a well-made summary of the ideas of the writers of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The interrelation of political and religious ideas is carefully worked out. While full of much that is interesting, the work, taken as a whole, lacks interest. There is too much of meat without proper and attractive setting. For one who desires a general survey of the ideas of political writers of this period, the book will fill a long-felt want, but there is a decided lack of critical analysis which, to the student of political institutions, leaves much to be desired.

WARD W. PIERSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Fleming, Walter L. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.* Pp. xxiv, 815. Price, $5.00. New York: Columbia University Press, 1905.

Students of southern history have awaited a book like the one under consideration for a long time. There has been a surfeit of treatises dealing with the political aspect of reconstruction, and one who works out the subject from the point of view of national politics must travel far afield to find new material. Within the past few years the diarists and writers of reminiscence have had their hearing in court. John S. Wise, in The End of an Era, Mrs. Pryor's Reminiscences, Mrs. Clay's A Belle of the Fifties, and the charming Diary from Dixes by Mrs. Senator Chestnut, of South Carolina, have delighted all students of the period now under consideration; but these, almost without exception, have limited themselves specifically to the period of the Civil War. To that extent they are valuable, and will be *memoires pour servir* for future writers.

Dr. Fleming set before himself not merely the study of the reconstruction, in and of itself, but further an account of the ante-bellum conditions, social, economic and political, and of the effect of the Civil War upon them. Internal conditions in Alabama during the war period are discussed at some length, and special emphasis is laid upon the social problems. The division of the state into "white" counties and "black" counties exercised the strongest influence upon the development of the people. The problems of the "black belt" varied greatly from the questions which compelled settlement in the northern hill counties.

The various political movements in the state preceding the secession convention in 1861 are, in view of their importance, somewhat cursorily dealt with. In order to understand the factors in the reconstruction problem it is quite essential that their origin and development should be kept in mind. These various factors were: 1st, the slave holders owning large plantations in the fertile parts of the state, who were generally Whigs in national politics, at least prior to 1856; 2d, the small slave holders, residing in or near the local centers of population, who were more commonly Democratic in national politics; 3d, non-slave holding whites; 4th, the negroes, and 5th, the carpet bagger. To understand the attitude of the non-slave holding whites during the period in question it is essential that one should study carefully the position held by them during the political debates between 1848 and 1856. That they were jealous of the ruling class and looked with suspicion and envy upon their estates is certain. If they voted with them on occasions, it was because generally they were led by their emotions rather than by their sober judgment. Undoubtedly many of these so-called poor whites were not enthusiastic during the war and were not dissatisfied with its result. Whether they were loyal to the North or not is of not so much consequence as that they were more or less secretly disloyal to the South. In the ante-bellum period society was certainly not homogeneous, socially and politically. The results of the elections to the various secession conventions prove this beyond question. To call all those who did not sympathize with the Democratic party during the reconstruction period "Unionists" or "Loyalists" emphasizes the weaker side of the question. The important thing to keep in mind is that there were, even during the reconstruction period, as there are to-day, a large number of native born white citizens in the South who have not and do not now sympathize with the ruling political party. The author might well have developed this part of his subject at greater length, and this leads to what is perhaps the most serious criticism of an otherwise thoroughly well done piece of work—that is, lack of proportion and unevenness of treatment. The war period and presidential reconstruction to 1866 occupies more than one-half of the book. Most of the other half of the book deals with educational, religious and social conditions down to 1868. Out of over eight hundred pages less than two hundred deal with the conditions which were actually prevalent during the interval between the reconstruction convention of 1868 and the overthrow of reconstruction in 1874. It is unfortunate that the author has not realized more accurately the importance of this period. To understand thoroughly why the South feels as bitterly as it does, and with much good reason, the many indignities heaped upon it during this period it is essential that we should have a clear idea of the state and local governments during this period. While the state had abundant cause to complain of injustice, its bitterest reproach has been cast at the North for the legislation which put the negro in power and gave him unbridled license, more particularly with respect to the persons and property of the proscribed whites. Statements of the amount of money stolen by the reconstruction party operating under various guises

is, of course, of some importance, but it would be more significant to learn more of the operation of the state legislature and the local taxing bodies, and it does not meet the point to say that not very much was accomplished in legislation during this period. The spirit in which this book is written and the personal equation of the writer are fairly open to criticism. In his treatment of the conduct of the Freedmen's Bureau by General Swayne, in his casual remarks relative of Whigs like George W. Hilliard, who were prominent before the war, in his reference to General George H. Thomas the author indicates that the process of reconstruction has not been fully completed in his own case.

Dr. Fleming is certainly entitled to great praise and credit for his treatment of the social and economic conditions prevalent in the state during the war. He has not left much for any subsequent writer to say about the fraudulent confiscation of cotton. In his discussion of the educational system, and especially the reconstruction of the various religious bodies in the state, he has done a thoroughly good piece of work. His treatment of the Ku-Klux outbreak is on the whole fair and impartial, and he is entitled to be congratulated on having had access to the original constitution of the order. He emphasizes, and justly, the value of the eleven volumes of the Congressional report on the Ku-Klux conspiracy. We may question, however, whether so much of this monumental work as deals with his own state should, as he says, be read with a biographical dictionary at hand. The evidence speaks for itself, and one accustomed to weighing evidence carefully can easily make his own corrections and allowances by following closely the statements of various parties called on both sides. On the whole, the author is to be commended for a scholarly and critical treatment of a most highly important historical epoch.

CHARLES C. PICKETT.

University of Illinois.

Goodnow, Frank J. *The Principles of the Administrative Law of the United States.* Pp. xxvii, 480. Price, $3.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

It is more than twelve years since Professor Goodnow published his *Comparative Administrative Law,* which was the first work in the English language dealing with the general subject. It contained an analysis of the administrative systems of the United States, England, France and Germany, while the present volume is confined to the United States. The publication of this work, following so closely upon the appearance of Professor Wyman's *Principles of Administrative Law,* indicates a growing interest in this subject among American students. This is all the more noteworthy when it is recalled that administrative law was not recognized in the United States when Professor Goodnow published his first work, which may be said to have introduced the subject in this country.

The new volume, which follows in general the plan of the former work,

is based upon a broader conception of the subject than that which is accepted by Professor Wyman. It comprises a consideration of the organization and activity of all authorities which are engaged in the execution of the law, and is not confined to the executive department as such. The following six divisions of the work indicate its general scope: The Separation of Powers; Central Administration; Local Administration; The Official Relation; Methods and Forms of Administrative Action; Control Over the Administration. While some of the chapters, particularly in the last division of the book, have been reprinted with only a few modifications from the earlier work, the present volume as a whole gives a more detailed treatment and shows the effect of the development of the ideas of the author during the intervening period. Many of the views which the author has expressed in his recent works are embodied in this book.

More emphasis is placed upon the necessity of studying extra-legal conditions which affect the governmental system. Professor Goodnow also introduces his well known distinction between the two primary classes of functions of government—those which are concerned with the expression of the will of the state and those which have to do with the execution of this will. In this connection he takes occasion to emphasize his former criticism of Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers. He indicates how necessary it is that harmony shall exist between the two functions of the expression and the execution of the will of the state, and shows how, under our system of executive independence of the legislature, conflict is prevented by the intervention of the political party. To accomplish this end the party must have a strong organization, which tends to limit the theoretical independence of the executive. A distinction is drawn between the political and administrative functions of the executive, and it is pointed out that, while the former should be controlled by the political party, the latter, which embraces work of a "scientific, technical, commercial or quasi-judicial character," should be uninfluenced by political considerations. This is realized to a certain extent in our national government, but in the states, owing to the systems of unrelated bureaus and departments, the various officials have no administrative superior, and are thus necessarily brought under the control of the political party, though their duties are administrative rather than political in character. It is interesting to note that while the author in his first work followed Professor Burgess in using the term "commonwealth" to designate the members of the American Union, he has entirely abandoned this usage in the present volume, and has adopted the designation "state."

A few errors and omissions must be noted in the chapter on Qualifications for Office. It is evident that when Professor Goodnow revised this chapter he had not examined the Twentieth and Twenty-first Reports of the United States Civil Service Commission, though the latest of these volumes was issued several months before the date of the preface of his work. Thus, on page 269, in discussing the classification of the national civil service, he refers to Rule III and names the five branches provided for under the civil service rules promulgated on May 6, 1896, while, as a matter of fact, under

the revised rules, approved by President Roosevelt on March 20, 1903, which became effective on April 15 of that year, all provisions for the arrangement of the classified service into branches disappear, and Rule II defines the classified service broadly so as to embrace the entire executive civil service except laborers and persons whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate. While this change in definition did not involve any increase in the classified service, as the orders of classification which preceded it had accomplished the same result, it was a significant indication of the change which had taken place in this service since the enactment of the civil service law of 1883. From a small list of enumerated positions the classified service had been developed until it embraced all offices which could be classified under the provisions of the law.

Again, on page 271, in referring to the appointment of unclassified laborers under a system of competitive registration, the author confines his discussion, so far as the national government is concerned, to the scheme adopted in 1891 for workmen employed in the United States navy yards, and fails to make any mention of the fact that under the provisions of executive orders of July 3, 1902, and March 26, 1903, similar measures were to be adopted for all laborers in the departments at Washington and extended as rapidly as might be found practicable to offices in the executive civil service outside of Washington. Such regulations were adopted by the departments in Washington during 1902 and 1903, and on November 15 and December 12, 1904, the President promulgated regulations governing such appointments in Washington and in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and St. Louis, which will be extended to such other cities as the Civil Service Commission may at any time deem expedient. Finally, in discusing the subordinate organization of the United States Civil Service Commission, the author fails to notice the consolidation of more than 1,200 local boards of examiners into thirteen districts, each with a central office. The movement commenced in Boston in 1897, was followed in San Francisco in 1902 and in Philadelphia in 1903, and finally, in 1904, the entire country was divided into thirteen civil service districts, each with one board of examiners, presided over by a secretary, having supervision over all local boards of examiners and all the civil service duties pertaining to the offices comprised within the district. The number of districts has since been reduced to twelve. This organization will greatly facilitate the work of the commission, thereby increasing its efficiency.

The merits of Professor Goodnow's book need not be dwelt upon, as they are well known to the many readers of his earlier work. As indicated above, it is the only book dealing with the entire scope of the subject. It will be of value to the general reader, and is well adapted to serve as a manual for the student of administrative law. It is to be hoped that the author will soon be able to carry out his intention to publish a book of cases illustrative of American administrative law and adapted to the arrangement of the present volume.

ISIDOR LOEB.

University of Missouri.

R. F. Harper. *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2500 B. C.* Vol. I. Price, $4.00. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904.

D. H. Müller. *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältniss zur Mosaischen Gesetzgebung, sowie zu den xii Tafeln.* Wien: Holder, 1904.

S. A. Cook. *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi.* London, 1904.

J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser. *Hammurabi's Gesetz.* Vol. I. Leipzig, 1904.

The Code of Hammurabi, discovered at Susa in 1900, whither it had been taken by an Elamitic conqueror in the twelfth century B. C. as a trophy from the city of Sippar, in Babylonia, is one of the most important documents of antiquity—of interest alike to the philologist, to the archeologist and to the student of legal institutions. Since the first publication of the text, in the fall of 1900, by Professor Vincent Scheil, to whom belongs the credit also of having given the first translation (in French) of the text—an exceedingly difficult task—several translations into German and English and one into Italian have appeared, and numerous monographs and articles on the Code as a whole or on certain aspects, phrases and words have been written by scholars in all parts of the world. The four works here singled out for special notice are representative of the best work that has been done in the elucidation of this precious document.

Beginning with Professor Harper's English translation, it is gratifying to state that it may be regarded as authoritative, and, while modifications in details and in the rendering of some of the legal terms may be expected from further researches, to which Professor Harper himself has since the appearance of the book made a contribution,[1] it can safely be accepted as a guide. Professor Harper has wisely abstained from the introduction of legal terms in modern use, preferring literal translations of the expressions used in the Babylonian original. Until we can be sure of the Babylonian legal phraseology, this method is to be preferred; but students of legal institutions approaching this code without a knowledge of Babylonia should bear in mind that the phrases in the Code actually represent legal terms used quite as accurately as those in modern juridical procedures. Thus the phrase, "the man in whose possession the lost property is found" is the equivalent of "holder," and "the owner of the lost property" is the equivalent of "claimant," and there are indications that these phrases are used in a technical sense without strict reference to their original more or less restricted meanings. Besides an excellent reproduction of the text, Professor Harper has also given a transliteration, which is done with great accuracy. A second volume, promising a discussion of the general character of the Code and comparisons of the parallels in the biblical codes, was announced by Professor Harper's brother, William R. Harper, whose untimely death is mourned by scholars and educators alike. If Professor Harper finished the work before his death, we may look forward to a supplement that will still further enhance the value of a publication reflecting such high credit on American scholarship.

[1] Notes on the Code of Hammurabi in the "American Journal of Semitic Languages," October 1905.

The translation and commentary of Prof. D. H. Müller, of the University of Vienna, is perhaps, taken as a whole, the most suggestive treatment that the Code has received. The main feature of the translation is an attempt to define in a more precise manner the force of the particles used in the original text, with the result of furnishing in many cases an entirely new and unexpected interpretation. Some of these interpretations have been attacked, and it must be confessed that a number of them strike one as strained—perhaps too ingenious. Still, the fact that Professor Müller's rendering represents a decided advance cannot be gainsaid, and for those who wish to study any paragraph or section of the Code it will be indispensable to consult Müller's interpretation. Less satisfactory, although highly suggestive, is the endeavor of Professor Müller to show direct Babylonian influences in the case of the Biblical codes and even in the case of the Twelve Tables of the Romans. His theory that the Twelve Tables and the Biblical codes rest on a common foundation that also underlies Hammurabi's Code is an interesting conjecture, for which, however, no satisfactory proof has been adduced by him. The parallels between Hammurabi's Code and that of the Romans and of the Hebrews cannot, of course, be denied, and while some Babylonian influences of a general character may be detected in both, these influences, it is safe to say, will turn out to be indirect rather than direct.

The proper method of treating such parallels is illustrated in Cook's valuable treatise on the "Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi." Dividing his subject into a number of general classes, like family, slaves, land, agriculture, commerce and personal protection, Mr. Cook points out in a very thorough manner the principles underlying the Biblical codes and those to be detected in the Code of Hammurabi, with the general result that, while there is a certain agreement in the treatment of legal cases, the principles are widely diverse. He properly argues that agreement in phraseology cannot be regarded as conclusive of direct connection between the two series of codes. In view of the totally different standpoint from which the relationship of man to his fellows is viewed in the Biblical codes in close connection with the general religious flavor of these codes, Mr. Cook pronounces against the assumption of direct Babylonian influences. Perhaps, in this negative attitude, he at times goes too far, but such extremes are to be preferred to the rapidity with which other scholars, because of certain resemblances between the Pentateuch and the Code of Hammurabi, have jumped to conclusions. It is rather unfortunate that Mr. Cook should have retained in the title of his book the expression "Laws of Moses," inasmuch as he accepts the position of modern scholarship, which recognizes a number of distinct codes in the Pentateuch, all but one of which date from the period considerably later than the days of Moses. Even in popular works such a phrase as "The Laws of Moses" should be avoided by any author who accepts the modern critical position.

The last work on our list is a combined production by Professor Peiser, a distinguished Assyriologist, and Professor Kohler, of the University of Berlin, the most eminent authority on comparative legislation. Two trans-

lations of the text are furnished in parallel columns, first, a literal rendering, and, secondly, on the basis of this rendering, a legal paraphrase, with the liberal use of legal terms in modern use. The former is the work of Dr. Peiser, the latter of Dr. Kohler; and by the combination the student is able to judge for himself—at least in many cases—whether the legal paraphrase is justifying. In order to bring this subject more clearly home to us, the legal paraphrase is repeated, arranged under the twelve main subjects treated of in the Code. In this form it impresses one as a very modern document, but in using it care must be exercised to compare each paragraph with the literal translation and to recognize, in view of the difficulties still involved in the interpretation, the limits of our present knowledge. The most valuable and certainly the most distinctive feature of Kohler's and Peiser's work is the discussion on the various paragraphs and the analysis of the principles underlying the Code. In the present volume the general subjects embodied in the Code are discussed, with valuable comparisons with actual cases occurring in the general contract literature of Babylonia and Assyria. Thousands of tablets, ranging from the oldest period of Babylonian history down to the latest, have been published, embodying all manner of cases that were brought before Babylonian and Assyrian judges, and we are now in a position to compare these cases with the actual laws that were supposed to prevail. Kohler and Peiser's work, therefore, makes a special appeal to the general student of legal institutions, and the attention of members of the Academy of Political and Social Science is directed to this feature. Two further volumes are promised—the second containing a transliteration with a philological commentary by Professor Peiser, which promises to be of great value to the student, while the third will contain a translation of selected legal texts from the days of Hammurabi, by means of which a further aid toward the interpretation of this remarkable Code will be furnished.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

University of Pennsylvania, March, 1906.

Hunt, William, and Poole, Reginald L., Ed by. *The Political History of England.* In twelve volumes. Vol. X: *The History of England from 1760 to 1801.* By William Hunt. Pp. xviii, 495. Price, $2.60. New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

This is the first volume to appear of a series which should constitute an important contribution to English history. For many years the principal published works in this field have been in the form of monographs on the history of relatively short periods. Lately, however, the prevailing movement toward extended co-operative work in all branches of knowledge has affected English history also. This is the most detailed, ambitious and promising of several series of histories resulting from this tendency, either actually in progress or announced. There is certainly an opportunity to gather together the scattered contributions to our fuller knowledge of English history which

have been made within the last generation, to utilize the new sources of information, to apply our more advanced standards and include our wider interests in the treatment of historical subjects. And there is quite as certainly a large body of competent and appreciative readers who are ready to welcome such work.

How well this series is likely to make proper use of the opportunities it would be unfair to judge from this single one of the twelve volumes, even though it is written by the principal editor. The name given to the series is itself, however, somewhat unpromising. The political history of a nation should no longer be treated independently of its economic, intellectual, social or ecclesiastical history. It is not only that the purely political thread is too slight a one for a nation's history, but the attempt to give anything like a logical account of national development without including these other phenomena leads necessarily to fallacy and misrepresentation. The character of this first volume justifies this fear. It is rather a history of changes in the English cabinet and parliament and of the immediate causes of them than a history of England. It is true that a chapter of twenty-two pages in the middle of the volume is devoted to "Social and Economic Progress (1760-1801)," but this is necessarily most cursory. The whole industrial revolution is described in five pages. With this exception, the book is uncompromisingly political in the narrowest sense. The masses and the classes of the people alike make up a vague, featureless background; the king, the ministers and a few public men are the only really clear figures. We are told in full detail the characteristics, political sayings and doings, the gradual acquisition or loss of political power, the political intrigues, the opinions and arguments of George III, Newcastle, Bute, the two Pitts, Fox, Burke and a few other statesmen and political or military leaders. But these certainly are not fair or adequate representatives of the whole people of England. Military movements are also described in considerable detail, the causes and course of the wars, and the party contests that took place over the terms of peace, but after all these are but single and isolated sides of the national history. They have been written of and rewritten of, while vastly more important and interesting aspects of the nation's experience still remain but inadequately described or known.

By calling attention to these limitations the reviewer does not intend to intimate that this work is not a valuable one. It is scholarly, clear and interesting. It covers the period of the close of the administration of the first Pitt and the whole of that of the second. It includes the American and the French Revolutions and the first half of the long period of war which sprung from the latter movement. It traces the rise and fall of the first modern effort for Irish independence. All these subjects are treated with vigor and independence, and the book can be read with much pleasure and profit. The author makes most frequent use of a limited body of original sources rather than of that mass of monographic literature which is referred to in the general introduction, and his work gains in freshness, though it loses in completeness thereby. The arrangement is strictly and

closely chronological, often approaching the form of actual annals. His treatment of the American conflict is somewhat narrowly English in its attitude, a fine map of America being described as a "map of the United States, illustrating the *War of the Rebellion* and the Peace of September 3, 1783." He claims that it was impossible for the British ministry and the king to yield to the demands of the colonists in 1774, although later kings and ministers have repeatedly yielded to later English colonies in just such circumstances. Indeed, Mr. Hunt does not show any real sympathy with Americans, French or Irish in their struggles with his own country, or any appreciation of their point of view. His book is as uncompromisingly English as it is political. Our criticism, however, is not of the author's statements on such questions, which, after all, must be matters of opinion; nor of the way in which the scholarly work of the book is performed in its other parts. It is rather a sense of regret that such an inadequate plan has been adopted for this important series, and that so little that is new, stimulating or broad is disclosed in this, the earliest volume to appear.

E. P. Cheyney.

University of Pennsylvania.

Kirkbride, F. B., and Sterrett, J. E. *The Modern Trust Company: Its Functions and Organization.* Pp. xii, 309. Price, $2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

Few books which have been published within the past year have attracted such widespread and appreciative attention from the business world as "The Modern Trust Company." The new sort of corporation, which has become such a prominent factor in the financial world in the last few years, has been given but little study. The authors of this volume had, therefore, to cover practically the entire field. An idea of the thorough manner in which they exploited it can be gained from a simple enumeration of the chapter headings.

After outlining in the introduction the functions and rapid growth in the business of the trust company, the authors proceed to describe in detail the steps which must be taken in organizing these institutions. After presenting the general outlines of the law governing this class of corporations in the various states, the usual provisions of by-laws governing meetings of stockholders and of the board of directors are given. The third chapter, devoted to the consideration of qualifications, duties and responsibilities of officers, is one of the best in the book. The conclusions upon this subject are applicable not only to the trust company, but practically every other form of corporation. The authors present in a simple matter-of-fact manner the ideal type of man for each position, and, what is perhaps of more practical value, point out the pitfalls into which many corporations have fallen through selecting men without regard to the requirements of the position.

From this point on the book becomes much more technical, and the use

of sample forms and documents illustrating the text becomes common. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the banking department. Avoiding minute details, the authors present, in logical sequence and in a simple, straightforward manner, the organization and operation of this department. Technical details are firmly fixed in the reader's mind, and his interest stimulated and sustained by personal anecdotes, presenting in a striking way the responsibilities and vexations to which the employees are subject in transacting the company's business with a public often inclined to be impatient and exacting.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the presentation of the activities of the corporate trust department. This chapter is in every sense the pivotal point in the book. It constitutes by far the most complete and illuminating study of this side of the trust company's business that has ever appeared. After discussing at length and in detail the moral and legal position of the trustee of a corporate mortgage, the authors plunge into the discussion of the manner in which this business is handled by the trust companies. The relation of the trust companies to underwriting syndicates, the part played by them in carrying through reorganizations and the success they have met with when serving as assignees or receivers are in turn given careful consideration.

The subject for the next two chapters naturally suggests itself. The treatment of the individual trust department, which can be considered the original, and in the eyes of the ordinary individual, the most important branch of the company's business, is fully up to the high standard set in the earlier portions of the volume. After outlining the general organization, the manner in which the trust company receives its appointment and consequent authority to act is described. The way in which stocks, bonds and mortgages are cared for, the administration of real property, and the methods of receiving, accounting for and disbursing trust funds are each presented in detail.

The remainder of the volume is of comparatively little importance. A careful analysis is made of the safe deposit and savings funds departments, and a chapter is devoted to the general accounting of this class of corporations. The latter, however, is designed rather to sum up and gather together what has been presented in other connections concerning this side of the corporation's business than of a thorough presentation of the subject. The final chapter is devoted to the consideration of miscellaneous subjects, such as the handling of the mail and the clerical force. The appendix contains the act under which trust companies are incorporated in the District of Columbia, the rules of the New York Stock Exchange governing the listing and transfer of stocks and bonds, and a fairly complete bibliography.

Special mention should be made of the excellent collection of forms and documents scattered throughout the book, but which are made readily accessible through a well arranged alphabetical index. These illustrations have been arranged in such a manner that, while they are properly distrib-

uted throughout the text, yet they do not distract the reader's attention or break his train of thought.

The authors have indebted not only the college and university world to them by furnishing a clear and well written book thoroughly covering the field, well adapted for use as a text, but they have made it possible for the business community to become intimately acquainted with this mighty engine of modern finance. The authors have risen above the technicalities of the business with which they are so thoroughly acquainted, and have presented a book well rounded in thought and execution, brief where brevity is advisable and detailed where explanation is desirable. In turning out such a valuable piece of literature they have set an example which could be followed with profit by men in every other field, and have demonstrated that true wisdom demands, not that the business specialist shall tightly hoard and conceal the information which he possesses, but that it is his duty, by presenting it in permanent form to his fellow-men, to draw tighter the bonds of business sympathy and comity.

THOMAS CONWAY, JR.

University of Pennsylvania.

Milyoukov, Professor Paul. *Russia and Its Crisis.* Pp. xv, 589. Price, $3.00. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Chicago: University Press, 1905.

Professor Milyoukov has been playing an important rôle during the recent upheaval in Russia. As one of the leaders of the Moderate Party, he has directed efforts towards the adoption of a liberal constitution which will give expression to the ideals of all classes of the Russian people. This has brought him into conflict on the one hand with the Reds, or radical faction, who desire a complete break with the personnel of the existing government and the abolition of the existing dynasty, and on the other hand with the reactionary party, wishing to retain the autocracy in its most despotic form. Professor Milyoukov labored assiduously to prevent the recent action of the Workingmen's Council which brought on an armed revolution and which ended in complete disaster. The author has divided his work into eight chapters: "A Comparison of Russia and the United States," "The Nationalistic Idea," "The Religious Tradition," "The Political Tradition," "The Liberal Idea," "The Socialistic Idea," "The Crisis," and "Conclusions."

The chapters of the book dealing with the political unification of Russia and the development of a national spirit contain material which is somewhat familiar to American readers, but the discussion of the contrast between the political and religious traditions of Russia on the one hand and the liberal and socialistic ideas of the new era on the other is illuminating. Professor Milyoukov is not a socialist, but it is hard for an educated man to maintain a moderately liberal attitude in a country like Russia. It has been said that "what is not commanded, is forbidden" in the empire of the Czar. So, when a man of prominence begins to deviate ever so slightly from the accepted tradition of government or religion, his complete and

absolute separation from political and religious orthodoxy is only a question of time. It is therefore surprising that so many intellectual men have been able to retain an independent position between the ultra-radicals and the autocracy. Professor Milyoukov touches on this fact in discussing the socialistic idea. "Socialism in Russia, more than anywhere else, represents democracy in general. This is what makes its political rôle much more important than in those countries with a more and earlier developed democracy." But the new socialistic democracy being founded on class spirit and composed largely of the manufacturing laborers can have little in common with the "intellectuals," as the educated liberals are usually called. It has been this inability of the constituent elements of the Russian people—peasant, city laborer and nobleman—to co-operate that has formed one of the chief elements of strength of the autocracy. In the chapter on the "Crisis" the author shows the steady deterioration in peasant prosperity in Southern Russia and the necessity of a thoroughgoing reorganization of the system of taxation, agrarian credit and land laws. The main thesis of the book is that the first step towards all of these changes is political reform.

The author traces the moderate or liberal movement through its phases of development as an upper and middle class propaganda. Parallel with it, but separate, he shows the growth of the socialistic or workingmen's agitation until the outbreak of the Japanese war, when a certain amount of tacit co-ordination of the two tendencies began. In the long run, however, this plan proved a failure because of the socialistic distrust of the "bourgeoisie." Meanwhile the military collapse of the empire has been followed by a financial panic, an acute agrarian crisis and last, but not least, a general failure of the elaborate system of state-protected industries and monopolies which was built up by Mr. Witte at the cost of the peasantry. It is upon the latter class, the agricultural laborers and renters, that the whole crushing burden of government inefficiency, folly and corruption has fallen. It is the native conservatism, credulity and superstition of this element which delays the process of revolution.

Professor Milyoukov's book gives an interesting, readable and, in all but one chapter, a logical, coherent explanation of the Russian crisis. On this important subject there is no work of equal merit and authority accessible to English readers.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

Rae, John. *The Sociological Theory of Capital.* A reprint of the New Principles of Political Economy, 1834. Edited with a biographical sketch by Charles W. Mixter. Pp. lii, 485. Price, $4.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

Rae's work originally appeared under unfavorable conditions, both internal and external, and for more than sixty years the few volumes printed in 1834 evidently rested undisturbed on library shelves. Böhm-Bawerk did not include a criticism of Rae in his comprehensive "Capital and Interest," for he was ignorant of Rae's book. Not until the great stimulus in the theoretical study of the theory of interest came, largely as a result of Böhm-Bawerk's work, was Rae really discovered and the value of his contribution appreciated. Through the efforts of the editor of the present reprint many have been made familiar with Rae's ideas, and will welcome the opportunity to get a copy of his great work.

If Rae's book had been studied carefully when it appeared, economic science might have been much further advanced than it is at present. The formulation of the agio theory of interest has helped immensely to a better understanding of economic phenomena, yet it was late in the nineteenth century before that theory of interest became a force in thought. Rae expressed that theory seventy years ago. The cause of interest lying in the difference in the relative valuations of present and future goods Rae saw and expressed in these words: "The formation of every instrument implies the sacrifice of some smaller present good for the production of some greater future good." This shows clearly that Rae understood in a definite way the cause of interest. Again, Rae made a long advance ahead of his time in his conception of what constitutes capital. It is true that in his definition of capital he limited the term, as is commonly done, to that portion of stock reserved for future productive uses or for exchange, but he does not use this conception of capital. Instead, he adopted the word "instrument," which he defined as "everything that man for the purpose of gaining an end brings to exist, or alters in its form, or in the arrangement of its parts." He thus included in his working conception of capital cultivated fields, hats, implements, bread, furniture, etc., and it is this conception to which economists are approaching. Rae's position in this respect is an approach to that of Professor Fisher's, who would include all goods under the category of capital. In these respects, it can be seen how important was Rae's contribution.

With all his advanced ideas, Rae failed to command attention. There are several causes of this. In the first place, his reasoning is somewhat obscure. He did not see clearly the great significance of the ideas he expressed. He had the idea of the theory of interest, but he did not work out a comprehensive theory of interest based on that idea. The book has to be read carefully to discover the theory of interest. Rae was more concerned with the rate of interest, and as he based his theory of the rate of interest upon a cost of production theory of value which is unsound, much of his reasoning, therefore, is unsound. He maintained that all instruments produce more than their cost of production, else they would not be produced. All instruments he arranged in a series according to the period it took each to produce double the cost of its production, and the discussion of the circumstances governing the position of instruments in

this series forms an extremely interesting and valuable portion of his book. One of the most important causes of changes in the series is invention, and Rae developed an important theory of invention.

Rae's use of terms was not fortunate. It would have been better to have used capital instead of instruments, for that was practically his meaning. Likewise his use of the term profits was unwise. That term is used to denote a differential gain, and it is a burden for the reader to keep Rae's meaning in mind. If his reasoning is difficult to follow and his terminology somewhat misleading, these defects are accentuated by the delightful description with which the book abounds. So charming is this feature that the apparent fault of the early readers who appreciated only the interesting descriptions must be avoided.

Concerning the present reprint, Professor Mixter deserves much credit for the labor he has bestowed on the original work to make it more readable. He has corrected the punctuation, which was extremely bad. That part which forms a distinct treatment of capital has been rearranged and forms the main body of the new edition. Chapters have been rearranged, pages inserted, explanatory notes added, which have made the book far more valuable than it formerly was. All that was not relevant to the theory of capital has been placed in an appendix, which forms nearly a half of the book, but making it a complete reprint of the original work. This appendix is not to be neglected, however, for it contains ideas which when developed will add much to present knowledge. The several appendices on luxury and the effects of vanity are of this nature. With his book cleared of its mechanical defects and made available in its new form, Rae ought to come into the position to which his great contribution entitled him.

LESTER W. ZARTMAN.

Yale University.

Small, Albion W. *General Sociology.* Pp. xiii, 739. Price, $4.00. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.

This monograph is the outgrowth of class lectures in the University of Chicago, where the author is Professor of Sociology. They have been worked over for publication, but a few slips remain, as, for instance, when Dr. Gilman is spoken of as president of Johns Hopkins or Ratzel is mentioned as if living.

The volume purports to be an exposition of the main development in sociological theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer, but it is a good deal more than this. The sub-title is true of the first 394 pages, but the balance of the work is largely a statement of the author's own opinions.

During the last century there were two types of sociologists: the sentimentalists, utopian ofttimes, knowing little about theory, followed by scientific students who have often been as interested in pure theory as to sometimes forget that this is vain unless brought into the arena of active life. Spencer

was the first of this new school, and his interest is largely in "Society Considered as a Whole Composed of Definitely Arranged Parts (structure)." A very good outline of Spencer's main argument is given, but nowhere is it condensed into a paragraph. Schaeffle marks a great advance over Spencer in that his interest is in "Society Considered as a Whole Composed of Parts Working Together to Achieve Results (function)." Ratzenhofer goes far beyond all his predecessors, however and establishes really the positive method for sociology when he considers society as a "Process of Adjustment by Conflict Between Associated Individuals," and further as a "Co-operation Between Associated Individuals." Ratzenhofer attempts to catalog the interests of society in a comprehensive way. This sociology must do to determine the relative value of interests at a given time—to know which should be advocated, which held in abeyance.

After a brief resumé of the results thus forgotten, Professor Small gives a "Schedule of Sociological Concepts," fifty-one in number, which are discussed in detail—a "Conspectus of Concepts Derived by Analysis of the Social Process." Part VII deals with "The Social Process Considered as a System of Psychical Problems;" Part VIII with the same as a "System of Ethical Problems," while Part IX treats the process as a "System of Technical Problems." To discuss the vast number of topics would require several volumes of THE ANNALS, and only a hint of the contents can here be given. Indeed, much of this latter part of the book seems more like notes for future elaboration than complete analyses of the things suggested.

To the author sociology is a comprehensive general science embracing the other social sciences. Sociology is an attempt to answer four questions: (1) What are the essentials in human association? (2) How do these essentials change their manifestations from time to time? (3) By virtue of what influences do these variations occur? (4) What social aims are reasonable in view of these conclusions from experience?

The population being made up of individuals: "Society is what it is at any time as the resultant of all the efforts of all the personal units to reach its own peculiar sort of satisfaction." Therefore: "All social problems are problems of the relation of personal units that have in themselves distinct initiation and choice and force." The aim of society is the perfecting of social co-operation. "More and better life by more and better people, beyond any limit of time or quality that our minds can set, is the indicated context of the social process."

Inasmuch as this syllabus represents an "epitome of the whole philosophy of society," detailed criticism is out of the question. Viewed by individual sections or chapters, the volume contains much of great value, particularly to the advanced student. There are some happy epigrammatic sentences, and the analysis is often keen. If taken in homeopathic doses, and upon special topics, the argument will often be helpful and stimulating. Viewed as a whole, the volume is less satisfactory. It will be of little service to the beginner, for the style is involved and at times confusing. The author evidently anticipates this, for he says: "One cannot have made the foregoing

argument in ignorance that to most minds it must seem a mere churning of words. It affects even rather mature students of social science, and almost invariably specialists in other departments, as a species of speculation for which one can have no serious respect without incurring suspicion of mental unbalance. * * * It would be a delightful clearing of the atmosphere if fewer people would call themselves sociologists and more would absorb a very little of the sociological spirit."

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES, AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Juvenile Courts and Social Work in Rural Districts of the Central West. In the prairie states of the central west charitable and social work is but in its beginnings. Up to within recent years there has been much cheap land near at hand, and the leading industry has been agriculture in mostly its extensive rather than its intensive type. As a consequence of this the social problems outside of religious, educational and political matters, have been rather limited. There has been no submerged tenth that was considered necessary to be lifted to a higher social and industrial plane. The movements for human uplift have been mostly along religious, industrial and educational lines. Of late years, however, as the population of the rural districts in Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and other central western states has increased, as land values have risen, as manufacturing and railroad centers have developed, the need for efficient social work has been manifesting itself plainly. In cities of from five to fifty thousand inhabitants there are problems for solution that in a small way are as complex as those in the large cities like New York and Philadelphia.

The greatest of these problems in the west is to nurture, to educate and to train the children so as to insure happy, healthy and morally worthy children. In addition to these elements of character, capability, efficiency and success as to the results which they are to accomplish socially and industrially must be developed.

The investigation of juvenile crime in many western states proves that in small towns and cities there is great necessity for much to be done. A strong movement should be made for the saving of children instead of waiting for the time when they must be *reformed*. The coming generation should be saved and not reformed. If one studies the police records he will find that there is an appalling development of evil tendencies. There is no more alarming fact than the development of crime among children. Of course, these criminal tendencies are a product of our civilization. The modern industrial movement is having its evil results as well as its good results in the so-called agricultural states. The problem of dealing with the boy or girl of the small city when not in school or when not actively employed is very serious and demands solution.

The school children during the long summer vacation fall into evil ways because they are thrown into idleness. The small city, which is usually heavily bonded for its water works system, lighting plant, school buildings, paving and other improvements, is unable to furnish supervised playgrounds, public baths, gymnasiums and parks for amusements. The children of those of moderate means and of the poor must shift for places

of amusement as best they can. As a result of this lack and the inability and disinclination to establish vacation schools of any kind whatsoever, many children spend their time in absolute idleness. In the case of those children coming from homes of low moral environment there is a constant deterioration in morals and a drifting of many into the incorrigible class.

There is considerable degeneracy in many homes of the laboring classes owing to the industrial conditions. Many of the western towns are becoming small manufacturing centers. Mothers and children are working away from home. There are many consequent violations of the child labor laws. With these people the home has degenerated into a place where the family eats and sleeps and where they all stay as little as possible.

There is child degeneracy not alone in the homes of the laboring people. Too frequently is the father a parent *in absentia*. He is so thoroughly devoted to his profession, business or trade, that he has no time for loving, training and knowing his children. Too generally the mother is overwhelmed with domestic duties, or, if her means are such that she may have servants, she has numerous clubs to attend, a variety of organizations requiring support by her presence, and an extensive social life to keep up. As a result she has too little time to devote to her children. With all of these factors in civic and domestic life operating, such parents do not take sufficient time to devote to their children. As a result the influence of the street at an early age becomes predominant, and vice springs forth abundantly. At an early age careers of dissipation and crime are begun, which end all too disastrously for the state, the individual and his family. As a check to these tendencies toward social evils several attempts have been made to institute means of prevention and reform.

Within the last decade marked efforts have been made toward the institution of juvenile courts, compulsory education, modernized industrial schools for boys and girls, orphan asylums, schools for the defectives and charitable organizations supported by voluntary contributions.

In the institution of juvenile courts the Iowa law may be taken as a type. It is a law that has been upon the statute books for only a few years, yet in all the small cities and rural communities, where they have taken advantage of it, it has proved a source of much benefit to boys and girls that might otherwise have grown up in crime and become a dependence upon society either as criminals or vagrants.

The Judge of the District Court has jurisdiction over all juvenile matters that may be brought before him. The aim of the law is to avoid incarcerating youthful criminals with the older confirmed criminals that are confined in the county and city jails and to avoid public trials that brand them as criminals. Any one may make a complaint before the court in regard to any boy who lacks competent parental care at home, who is an incorrigible, who is constantly loafing about railroad yards, or about saloons, billiard halls or any place of disrepute. The compulsory education law is so framed that it supplements the provisions of the juvenile court law

very effectively. According to the provisions of the former all children between the ages of seven and fourteen must attend school for at least sixteen consecutive weeks during the school year, such term of attendance not to commence later than December 1st. Frequently it so happens that parents when brought before the justice court for violations of the compulsory educational law will enter a plea of defence that they are unable to control the child, and as a result are unable to secure his attendance at school. Such an admission at once in the eyes of the law makes the child either an incorrigible or it shows a lack of proper parental treatment at home. This makes him liable to the operation of the court for juveniles. Many times in certain communities this situation has arisen and has been acted upon with great benefit to those concerned. In connection with the juvenile court there is appointed a probation officer. Frequently the court, after consultation with the parents and with the child brought before him, will refrain from sending the child to the reformatory and permit his education at home under the surveillance of the probation officer, providing the parents will make reports to him from time to time concerning the child's work at school and the way he spends his time when out of school. He is also forbidden to loaf about the streets or about resorts of doubtful character. In many cases this has been sufficient to arouse the parents to greater diligence and to awaken in the boy or girl efforts for a better life. The court has been known to appoint in particular instances, where they show a sustaining and aiding interest in the reclaiming of the child, one of the parents as the probation officer. It has frequently been very successful as to its results. This procedure in a way gives the parent the law as a club to bring about obedience. Now and then, however, the probation officer finds it necessary after a time to recommend to the court that a boy or girl be sent to one of the industrial or so-called reform schools conducted by the state. The institution of the juvenile court has appeared not only as a social good immediately affecting those brought before it, but also it has had an awakening influence upon parents and children who might otherwise be indifferent. While its institution is only in its infancy, efforts are constantly being put forth to see that its provisions are strengthened wherever they may be weak. It is a law that is growing constantly in efficiency and in public favor.

The compulsory education laws in the western states are also in their beginnings. They are quite unsatisfactory as yet in many of their provisions. Sixteen weeks is entirely too short a period for the attendance at school of children between the ages of seven and fourteen years. When we think of the length of time that it took to start this in the central west, those interested in compulsory education feel that they have won a great victory in getting the small start that they have already obtained. In many communities the law is as yet a dead letter upon the statute books. Boards of education and the public must yet be educated to the necessity of paying for a truant officer to enforce the provisions of the law. In many communities, however, much good has been done. Where educational authorities become interested in the work they are able to unite their forces with the associated

charitable organizations of the community, the poor master and the juvenile court. Parents who have violated the law may be brought before the justice for trial, and if it develops that a child is not in attendance at school because of the inability to procure books, comfortable wearing apparel and nourishing food, the work of the charitable organizations or the poor master is at once enlisted. Boards of education will oftentimes furnish children with text-books and supplies free of charge. Where educational authorities have taken hold of this matter in a strenuous manner there is very little violation of the compulsory education law. In communities, it is to be regretted, where there is a rapidly growing population which causes a lack of school facilities, or in communities where there is an indifference on the part of school authorities, there is a lamentable weakness in the enforcement of the law.

It frequently happens that children in the public schools are mentally defective. It also happens that there are at times children not in school that are afflicted in a like manner. The handling of these cases is the most difficult problem that faces those desirous of giving every child a training for each talent which he may possess. Provision is made by all of the western states for the care of such children. Institutions for the mentally defective are supported by public taxation. Heretofore there has been a strong prejudice against sending children to these institutions, because of the feeling of disgrace and because of the reluctance of parents to be separated from their children. This, however, to a certain extent is subsiding. The great difficulty at present is that the schools are not large enough to admit all of those who are applying for admittance. In Iowa at the present time there is needed a larger institution or a new institution for the handling of mentally defective children. There are at present many on the waiting list.

In all of the so-called reform or industrial schools, and in all of the schools for mental defectives, great improvements have been instituted. The state reform schools for boys and those for girls are no longer conducted as prisons or places of detainment. The indeterminate sentence is passed upon them. The boys and girls are educated along industrial lines. The boys are taught trades; the girls are educated in domestic science. More and more they are taught to be responsible beings and to possess self-respect. More and more the ideas of prison discipline and methods are abandoned. Many an individual has become a good member of society through their agency. The great social wrong with these institutions is that those who enter must almost become criminals before they can enter.

Social work in the central west is advancing. At present there are relatively few wealthy men to whom appeals can be made for philanthropic needs, but philanthropy seems to be somewhat social in its tendencies, and the people are coming to tax themselves for its operations.[1]

[1] Contributed by Elmer L. Coffeen, Marshalltown, Iowa.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee. Does the opportunity exist in American cities for trained women to do scientific and practical work for women along social and economic lines? This is the question which the Research Committee, in a modest way, is trying to answer, and in its answer, if affirmative, lies not only an inspiration for women to enter these fields, but an opportunity for women, whether of the leisure class, housewives or working women, to place their efforts upon an entirely rational, commonsense and thoroughly intelligent plane.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee represents the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, of Boston, with Mrs. Kehew, its president, as chairman of the committee; the Woman's Municipal League, of New York, with Miss Chanler, its president, as representative; the Public Education Association, of Washington, with Mrs. Gitterman, its president. These three organizations have research departments which carry on the studies of the central committee. In Philadelphia a new organization has been formed—the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association—to carry on the work, with Mrs. W. F. Hamilton as representative. Aside from the organizations representing the cities which support the work of the committee, national organizations carrying on studies along similar lines may affiliate. Under this arrangement the Council of Jewish Women, represented by Miss Sadie American, and the College Settlements Association, represented by Mrs. Arthur Scribner, have united in the work. These organizations represent many thousands of women. The committee requires that the investigation of certain subjects, upon which it agrees each year, shall be carried out simultaneously in each city by the same methods and according to the same prescribed schedules. In addition to this, the research departments of each organization in the various cities gather the facts needed for their work and undertake such additional studies for other organizations or independently, as their finances will permit. Each city organization supports all the local work financially, and the amount necessary to pay the expenses of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is equally divided among the organizations or raised by independent subscription. The fields of study selected by the Inter-Municipal Research Committee to be investigated simultaneously in the cities are the unemployed and domestic workers, these being the two subjects upon which there is the least, as well as the most inaccurate, data.

Whatever advantages the Research Committee possesses over other women's organizations must be found in its viewpoint of the entire situation and in the fields which it has chosen for the investigations, which are to demonstrate the worth of the principles underlying this viewpoint. These may be placed in two groups: its conception of what social or municipal research means, and its methods of selecting and using the results of its research.

There is among college students what may be called a fad for sociological investigation. The student who visits half a dozen laundries in order to write a newspaper story; the student who becomes a servant in order to gain notoriety by publishing a book on domestic service; the student who

comes over in the steerage and writes a treatise on immigration; the women who work in factories and then write of the lives of working women, are not doing research work, however much value their experiences may have for society. Research implies the thorough and approximately complete *study* of a subject, or some phase of it. Experiences are not research, and these careless, inaccurate, so-called studies should not be confounded with research work.

Research, for the most part, has until very recently been confined largely to the province of the institutions of learning. The primary object of the student conducting the research has been the development and standing which he or she has gained as a student, and the publication of the results of the research in a thesis. The student's work has ordinarily stopped with the thesis, the particular subject has been dropped or the student has taken a salaried position, more often as an administrative officer. The Research Committee aims to do two things: first, to carry the students' activities into the realm of the social and economic problems of the city, and, secondly, to require that for every group of conditions which is studied thoroughly and accurately the same student shall construct social betterment plans, and shall assist in obtaining and carrying out the remedies, which must be thoroughly practicable. In other words, the results of the investigation are not hidden in some obscure thesis, or in the musty archives of libraries, where legislators, business men and others who need the knowledge cannot find time to look. Only a short time since students doing research work thought it would injure their standing for scientific work to have their publications appear in newspapers and popular magazines or in any publication other than technical journals. Indeed, it is still true that publications are often considered unscientific unless interspersed with many and elaborate tables. The Research Committee in no way discourages these, but it also encourages the student so to state his facts that the average legislator, politician and business man can and will use them. It accomplishes this result in two ways: It offers fellowships to both men and women, requiring that they be resident in a university situated in one of the cities in which it has branches. Or the student may have a graduate fellowship and do social betterment work. One of the fellows this year at the University of Pennsylvania has charge of the boys' clubs at a settlement, and lives in the neighborhood which he is studying.

But the results of these investigations are put into daily use. If in the course of investigation violations of tenement house laws are found, the facts of each violation are carefully prepared and sent to the officer charged with the enforcement of that law. If no answer is received, the place is again investigated, and a second report made. If there is failure again, the record, with his failure to report, is sent to his superior officer, and other organizations are furnished with the facts. This is patiently and systematically done in all of the fields in which this committee works. Where it is necessary to prepare and bring cases, as in violations of the employment agency laws, the student, after reporting the individual violation, continues the collection of

aggregate facts, and a specialist or trained investigator is put on the case to secure legal evidence and, if necessary, be a witness. The student, through his daily touch with the people, who can remedy conditions thus puts his knowledge to the use of the city; and this does not interfere with its use in publications, which will help those in other communities. When students who conduct research under these conditions must seek a livelihood later, they are already imbued with the social service spirit, and are a gain to any community in which they go to live. The Research Committee, then, trains in this work, besides giving the results to the community.

The work of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is primarily women's work for women. It includes a study of the conditions for men in so far as they are a part of the field of the unemployed and domestic workers. But the practical protective measures are chiefly for women. The Research Committee believes that certain definite principles must more thoroughly dominate women's work for social betterment before it can become trustworthy and achieve the standing of the same work done by men. Upon this standing depends the use which the public makes of it. This committee does not for a moment believe that it is the originator or the sole possessor of any one of these ideals of work. Every woman's organization working along social and economic lines has some, if not all, of them. But it does believe that this combination will raise the standards of all women's research, as well as of practical work; that it will encourage the endorsement or adoption of these principles, and that it will become a clearing house for the crystalization of the results of women's work, as well as an inspiration and help for small struggling groups who wish to do social work and cannot see the light. With all the splendid work which women's organizations are doing, there is still a great percentage of unsystematic effort, a wide margin of duplication, and a considerable portion of waste. Women's work is not different in principle from men's, but there is greater need among women for training, mental and physical, and there must be advised adaptability; there is much leisure to be utilized, and many personalities and preferences to be moulded into a social consciousness. The more active and communistic life of man has given him a broader foundation for his social service work, a work which is at last open to women. They must construct an equally firm foundation if their work is to be well done, though it may differ in many essentials, because of their duties as home-makers and mothers. The ideals which this Research Committee has of women's work are consistent with the ideals which home-makers and mothers, as well as business women, may hold. These ideals or principles, are briefly these:

That as endorsers of movements, or as students, or as practical workers, women should understand the basic conditions before they go into civic work. At the present time faddists and theorists, exaggerators of social and economic conditions, and hobby-riders, often secure hearings before clubs and other organizations and individuals, and even secure endorsements; and as a result many wildcat schemes of social improvement are started which not only result in financial disaster, but which block social progress in that direction.

This committee by its corps of fellows and trained investigators, and its carefully-gathered material on various subjects, which is placed unreservedly with out charge at the disposal of interested persons, gives at least the opportunity for women to be well informed. This year six domestic training school plans, involving the expenditure of thousands of dollars, have been advised upon. The records of some fifty training schools in the country, showing their plans, success, reasons for failure, and their relation to other schools, have at least enabled the promoters to decide intelligently. When the committee does not possess the required data, it will plan the required details of investigation, and secure the necessary information, the only requirement being that the individual or organization shall pay for the actual cost of such investigation, without any commission whatever to the committee. It does ask to keep a duplicate copy of the investigation that it may be of service to others wishing to start similar lines of investigative work. It will not undertake any investigation for any individual unless the object of the investigation is social or community benefit, and no financial inducement can be offered to utilize its work for purely individual needs. The committee was recently asked by a lawyer to ascertain a certain definite fact which was essential to winning a case involving a large sum of money, because the possibilities of selling out were so great that he was afraid to trust a detective. The committee felt obliged to refuse this investigation, because its end was the gain of one individual or family. When research work is taken up with a view to benefiting the community, many persons confuse investigation with detection. The essential principle of any investigation is to go with an open mind prepared to find and portray the good as well as the bad. The whole theory of detection is that a wrong has been committed and the offender must be found or convicted. They are not in fact, in method, or in the end desired, at all similar.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee believes that work for social conditions should be organized. It urges that every woman should be affiliated with at least one organization which has for its object the betterment of the conditions of others than herself. It does not urge its own organization, but presents the plans and advantages of all lines of work. Interest in some one definite line of work will not interfere with other duties.

The work undertaken by the committee is educational in aim, philanthropic in spirit, and disinterested. In all lines of civic betterment, that of women is the most free from suspicion of political influence or pull and from graft. It is the absence of these which make women's work so successful. In New York, when the Woman's Municipal League took a bill to regulate employment agencies to Albany, the feeling was that it would not pass, as there were strong interests against it. The bill was supported entirely by women, and they had a record of every agency in New York City, setting forth its methods and character. The indisputability of the facts, and the freedom from political influence, caused the legislators to say: "I guess if the women want it, it's needed; there is nothing in it for them." Where the

conditions affect large numbers of women, the right spirit in their efforts may be more effective than the vote.

Perhaps the keystone of the work of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is cooperation. It confines its efforts to gathering the facts; it does none of the administration work, which is detrimental to research. Its facts go through various channels, and in many instances the source is never known. In the short period of its work, it has seen the development of model employment agencies, immigrant homes, lodging houses, training schools, enforcement of laws by various city departments, all based upon its accurate facts and plans made by its students. It has placed many groups of facts before other organizations. Its aims are to avoid duplication of work and institutions, to start no new organizations or movements where there is one in the field which can adequately do the work, and to act as a clearing house of information and activity so that various organizations may know of the work of each other. The committee conducts no employment bureaus, operates no lodging houses, training schools or other enterprises, and receives no fees or compensation from such institutions, but refers all of its patrons to those which maintain the best standards. It is a clearing house where the public may ascertain the enterprises most worthy of patronage, possessing the best business methods and treating patrons in an honest, courteous way. So far as it knows, it is not in competition with any other organization.

The committee has secured the combination of the trained with the experienced worker. Its fellows and students, by a close association with the members of the organizations who are in daily contact with the field to be explored, make the work more practical than where the student is affiliated with organizations composed of teachers and students alone.

It may be of interest to give some illustrations of the benefit to the community, as the result of these principles, in the utilization of research work for the city. In 1903, after a thorough investigation of every agency in the cities, Boston improved its law, New York State passed an entirely new one, Philadelphia succeeded in getting one through the Legislature, but the Governor thought Philadelphia too good for such a drastic bill (though the recent exposé in the city has justified the bill), and Washington now has a bill in preparation. The local organizations took up the matter of enforcement, and in New York city alone about 150 complaints of violations were made last year. A Woman's Municipal League case usually draws this comment from the offender: "We are up against it this time—we will do the square thing." In New York this persistent work has been the means of organizing the best agencies into groups, and they are now working as hard for the enforcement of the law as they formerly worked against it. There are four groups of associations: the Italian agents, the theatrical agents, the Employment Agents' League, and the East Side Employment Agents' Protective Association, composed of immigrant agents. Each local organization of the Inter-Municipal Committee has every agent classified under the head of recommended, approved, or undesirable, and these lists are furnished to patrons who wish to know about agencies before patronizing them.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee made a careful study of the conditions under which colored women were brought north, and found they were defrauded and misled by agents. Conditions in Virginia and other southern shipping places were studied through the co-operation of Hampton Institute, and the entire system for the first time clearly understood. There were no organizations to protect colored unemployed women, and in all four cities there have been started associations for the protection of negro women. These associations have placed agents at the docks who, in New York City and Philadelphia, assisted over 450 women to find honest places. Some needed financial aid to reach the places where work awaited them; others needed lodging; others work, and some only direction. Considering that many dishonest persons are waiting at the docks to exploit these workers, this seemingly unimportant matter of meeting a friendly adviser who can give directions becomes of very great importance.

In two cities, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, lodging houses have been started where these colored girls have been cared for. In Philadelphia one new employment agency with honest methods has resulted, and in Brooklyn the Young Women's Christian Association has started a training school. These have been the direct results of the facts gathered, and presented to interested groups of people.

In Philadelphia an investigation productive of good results has been completed and a similar investigation is being conducted in New York. The names and addresses of unmarried immigrant girls coming to this country within the past three years were taken from official records, and these girls were traced. It was found that 318 had been released to responsible persons and were doing well; 164 had disappeared entirely and had never been seen in the neighborhood where they were supposed to have gone; 10 were released to men who promised to marry them (and at the end of this time over two-thirds had failed to keep the promise); 32 to neighborhoods infested with disorderly houses, or directly to questionable places; and 17 to addresses which never had existed; 38 had been given to people who had falsely represented themselves as relatives. These results were presented to those interested in the protection of immigrant girls, and a friendly visitor is to be placed at the docks who will see that these girls find good lodging places, that they find work, learn English and have a friend during the time they need her most—their first six months in a strange city.

These are but illustrations of the practical results which follow accurate knowledge of the conditions.

The Research Committees are equally effective as engines to supply the power for the work of the various other committees of the organization.

The Woman's Municipal League of New York, as an illustration, has full machinery for effective work. When investigations reveal inadequate laws, its legislative committee prepares and supports desirable bills. When upon investigation of lodging houses violations of the tenement laws are found, the Tenement House Committee presents these to the department; and so on through all its various committees are found channels so that the actual

conditions find their way to the heads of departments and to the courts. The Research Department, during the recent campaign for Mr. Jerome, whom the League supported, found it possible at short notice so to adjust its machinery that it placed in the hands of the League information of Mr. Jerome's effective work for the protection of unemployed women, which was of direct value as material for the campaign for clean government.

In its active participation in municipal affairs the Inter-Municipal Committee has not lost sight of the educational work. "Out of Work," a study of employment agencies, is the first volume it has published. It publishes a Bulletin each month, giving the reports of the work in the various cities and articles of general interest on research work. A number of articles are contributed to the magazines.

It has in preparation a manual for the study of social problems. This is for the use of organizations, libraries and schools, and is a ready reference book on more than four hundred social subjects. For any one wishing to prepare a topic here will be found suggestions for its preparation and the best of references with a brief statement of their contents and point of view, so time need not be wasted on valueless references. The material is grouped thus: Problems affecting rural and urban life, the family, race groups, health, æsthetics, industrial problems, household economics, education, social work. The object of the committee in issuing this volume is to stimulate and direct thought to the mass of subjects which women who are taking an interest in civic affairs may profitably study.

Closely allied with this is the preparation of club programs on various subjects, which are sent upon request to clubs. In the course of the year about fifty lectures are given by students, fellows and others connected with the committee.

This year the committee is conducting a department for housewives and their helpers in the *Ladies' Home Journal.* The *Journal* reaches a great number of housewives and helpers throughout the country. It is a practical educational and correspondence department. During the year the committee carefully investigated and compiled directories of the best employment agencies and domestic training schools in the country, and the addresses of those agencies nearest the homes of any housewives or helpers are sent to them on request. The rights of patrons of employment agencies, under the various State laws, have been ascertained and are sent out, and also helpful advice as to the rights of housewives and helpers in the matter of wages, the giving of notice and references. This department is now giving this information in answer to about twenty-five inquiries daily. The department also has short articles upon vital household problems, and answers questions.

In addition to these investigations and movements carried on in the four cities, the committee is being called upon to help other cities. A club has asked it to investigate local agencies and outline some practical work, such as improving conditions or starting an agency. A second has asked to have its individual club members put to work in a systematic way on its city problems. A study of the sanitary conditions of laundries in one city was

carried out for a large city organization; and the committee has also been asked to gather information upon the vice problem, which is such a peril and menace to unemployed women, especially immigrants. It will be seen that upon each investigation some practical work is pending which involves expense and effort. This committee is ready to make any investigations which will improve the conditions or result in the protection of unemployed women, or will throw light upon the industrial problems of women.

In every city represented on the committee there is a bureau of information where the results of all the committee's investigations are placed on file for the use of the public. A secretary is in charge, to answer inquiries, to give addresses of good employment agencies, to furnish lists of lodging places for unemployed women, and to give information on all phases of household employment—experiments, proposed solutions, sources of labor supply, suggestions for club programs, and the literature of the household problem. Thus all information gathered by the committee is put to immediate practical use. It has a fund for the extension of its work to other cities, and Baltimore and Richmond are asking for some help in protecting the unemployed. As a result of conditions found in its studies of immigration the committee is urging a study of employment agencies throughout the United States, with a view to determining whether Federal employment centers are needed for the better distribution of laborers, especially immigrants; and the absence of any knowledge on this subject points to the realization of this plan.

The institutions of learning in the cities have readily extended cooperation. One fellow of the Philadelphia local branch and of the University of Pennsylvania, is studying the negro problem. Another fellow, a graduate of Harvard, is carrying on the same line of study in Boston. Another fellow, from the Boston School of Social Workers, and a fourth from the New York University Law School, are among the fellows of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee. With the colleges and the city administrations and social movements being brought closer together through these research intermediaries, there is every hope that college men and women will satisfactorily answer the question so often asked, especially by politicians and business men, Why are not college men and women more of a factor in our civic life? And can women's efforts be of real practical value to the community?[2]

Some Functions of a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty. The name of any social institution will give slight idea of what work it is really doing. The actual activities of the organization are determined chiefly by three factors, the attitude of the Board of Directors, the training and ability of the executive officers, and the moral and financial support of the community in which it is located.

A Society to Protect Children from Cruelty occupies an unusual and to a certain extent an anomolous position in a community. In some states, for

[2] Contributed by Miss Francis A. Kellor.

instance New York, it has been decided by the courts not to be a charity, and this fact furnishes great pleasure to some secretaries. Its officers are often police officers, but this is not essntial, although it always has close relations with the Police Department of a city. Where it does not have charge of the entire work of the Juvenile Court, in undertaking to see that children are given suitable care, physical, mental, and moral, and are not neglected in any of these particulars by drunken or indifferent parents or custodians, it assumes the most important function of the Juvenile Court, the preventive function which incessantly emphasizes parental responsibility and the principle of contributory delinquency.

A Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may mean an organization which voluntarily waits until complaints reach its officers of a specific and flagrant violation of any statute relating to the care and treatment of minor children. The law is then invoked, and the child is removed from the control of its parents or custodians. It may be placed in an institution or it may be given the advantages of life in a private family in the country. If any offense has been committed against the child the officers secure evidence—sometimes a most difficult task, little appreciated by those who do not realize how the name "cruelty" shuts the mouths and dulls the memory of all except the best friends of children,—and the offender is prosecuted. In so far the action of the officers of the society is purely police. For this work of prosecution good police officers or detectives without social training should prove efficient.

As long as this is the only method of dealing with cruelty and neglect there will unquestionably be plenty of this sort of work to do. The society may assume further police duties,—moral police duties, if we may classify a little more exactly,—and investigate all applications for permission to appear in theatrical performances or determine whether a specific play is injurious to morals of minors under eighteen when unaccompanied by parents or guardians. It may share the responsibility of the Board of Health and investigate applications for licenses to board infants, investigating also the moral qualifications of the applicants.

A rational conception of the sphere of a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty gives a wide scope for its activities. Such a sphere is designated in the charter of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, the second article of which we print verbatim:

"Article II. The purposes of the society are to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to children throughout the State of Pennsylvania and for the enforcement of all laws heretofore and hereafter enacted for the protection of children, and to purchase, print, publish, and circulate such tracts and books as are fitted to promote the objects of the society."

The purpose furnishes a most attractive program. It involves:

1. A careful study of all conditions affecting childlife, of the causes immediate or remote which tend to demoralize or even to hamper the fullest and most harmonious development of the child. The following comprehensive definition given in the rules of the Liverpool Society for the Prevention of

Cruelty to Children should find wider acceptance in our own states. Cruelty shall include: (*a*) All treament or conduct by which physical pain is wrongfully, needlessly or excessively inflicted, or (*b*) by which life or limb or health is wrongfully endangered or sacrificed; or (*c*) by which morals are imperilled or depraved; (*d*) all neglect to provide such reasonable food, clothing, shelter, protection and care as the life and well-being of a child require; (*e*) the exposure of children during unreasonable hours or inclement weather, as peddlers or hawkers, or otherwise; (*f*) their employment in unwholesome, degrading, unlawful or immoral callings (*g*) or any employment by which the powers of children are overtaxed, or their hours of labor unreasonably prolonged; and (*h*) the employment of children as mendicants, or the failure to restrain them from vagrancy or begging.

2. A concerted effort to remove all causes inimical to the child's welfare.

In studying the causes of cruelty and neglect of parents the sincere investigator cannot be satisfied with "drink" alone, the common and most easily assigned cause, but must recognize bad housing, lack of intellectual resources and recreation as predisposing men and women to drunkenness and neglect. It is not exclusively the work of such a society to agitate for better housing conditions or for a rehabilitation of a primitive school system, but it must take an intelligent and aggressive part in such efforts, realizing the futility of much of its work under existing conditions in these respects. The extents and results of child labor, the results upon the children of performing in theatres, no matter what the nature of the performance; the evils attending street trading by minors; the horrors of unregulated baby farms; lying-in hospitals and midwifery; the danger of permitting young children to attend theatres of a low grade—all these and many other similar subjects of inquiry are pre-eminently the function of a society whose aim is to secure a chance for a wholesome life for every child within the sphere of its influence. The effort to remove causes of injury to childhood may be prosecuted in various ways. Thus the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may in conjunction with a city department investigate applications for baby farms and inspect the institutions when licensed.

It may investigate applications for permission to have children perform in theatres and applications for licenses for children to engage in street trading, and do so in all three cases only when it is distinctly a temporary arrangement, and every effort is made to force the public authorities to assume their full responsibility. The society has an urgent duty to expose inefficiency in enforcing the compulsory education law.

It is not helping matters, however, but usually simply hindering progress, when it assumes permanently functions which belong entirely to public authorities. When we have proper Board of Health regulations, suitable tenement house regulation and inspection, and a rational system of policing, with an effective school system, much of the present demand for a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty will have passed away.

The method of dealing with neglect of children in individual families raises a difficult question. Granted that parents drink and neglect the chil-

dren, or are immoral, shall the society exert its police power at once to the extent of arresting parents and removing children or shall its potential police authority be held in abeyance temporarily, and the parents be warned and instructed as to the proper care of their children and be placed under strict supervision. The latter method is by far the more humane, though the former ironclad method has been more generally used by the New York Society to Protect Children from Cruelty with the result, to quote Mr. Homer Folks (D. D. and N. Children) that by placing children in institutions "they practically control the lives of an average number of about 15,000 children and an average annual expenditure for their support of about one and a half million dollars." The sanction of economy as well as humanity favors the method of giving parents an opportunity to redeem themselves when they at once begin an improvement and when the children's interests are not impaired thereby, this will require a much larger force of agents, men and women, than any Society to Protect Children from Cruelty has in proportion to the number of families with whom it deals. No agent can effectively help over one hundred and fifty families a year continuously, and would accomplish better results by far with a hundred families. It is not germane to the subject to discuss the comparative merits of paying probation officers by pubilc or private funds. The writer's preference is for payment by public funds, as soon as that can be achieved. To accomplish the best results in this work of rehabilitating families, however, the probation officer must have a large measure of tact, sympathy, intelligence and finesse and be well trained not only in the law, but in the psychology of childhood, the best methods of work with children, and general social effort.

By these measures the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may be one of the greatest factors in the prevention of crime, not merely by removing children from vice but by removing, through the exercise of its police powers, the whole family and re-establishing it in a new neighborhood, where the influences shall be uplifting to parents and children alike. This double service is one of the greatest society can perform, and when a sufficient number of thoroughly competent agents and proper co-ordination can be secured for this task the ridiculous travesty of hauling parents before the courts, summarily removing their children and placing them in ill-appointed institutions, whose blight will never be effaced,—this travesty on protection from cruelty will be reduced to a minimum. The Society to Protect Children from Cruelty will then be working with the most important institution to protect children from cruelty—the family.[3]

[3] Contributed by Benjamin T. Marsh, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

The Publication Board of the Academy finds itself compelled to request the indulgence of the members for the delay in the publication of the ANNALS. The strike in the printing trades has greatly increased the burden of issuing each volume, but your Board expects that, after the issue of the May volume, matters will be so adjusted as to enable us to issue succeeding volumes at the regularly appointed dates.

The proceedings of the Annual Meeting will be published as a special volume, constituting the May number of the ANNALS.

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